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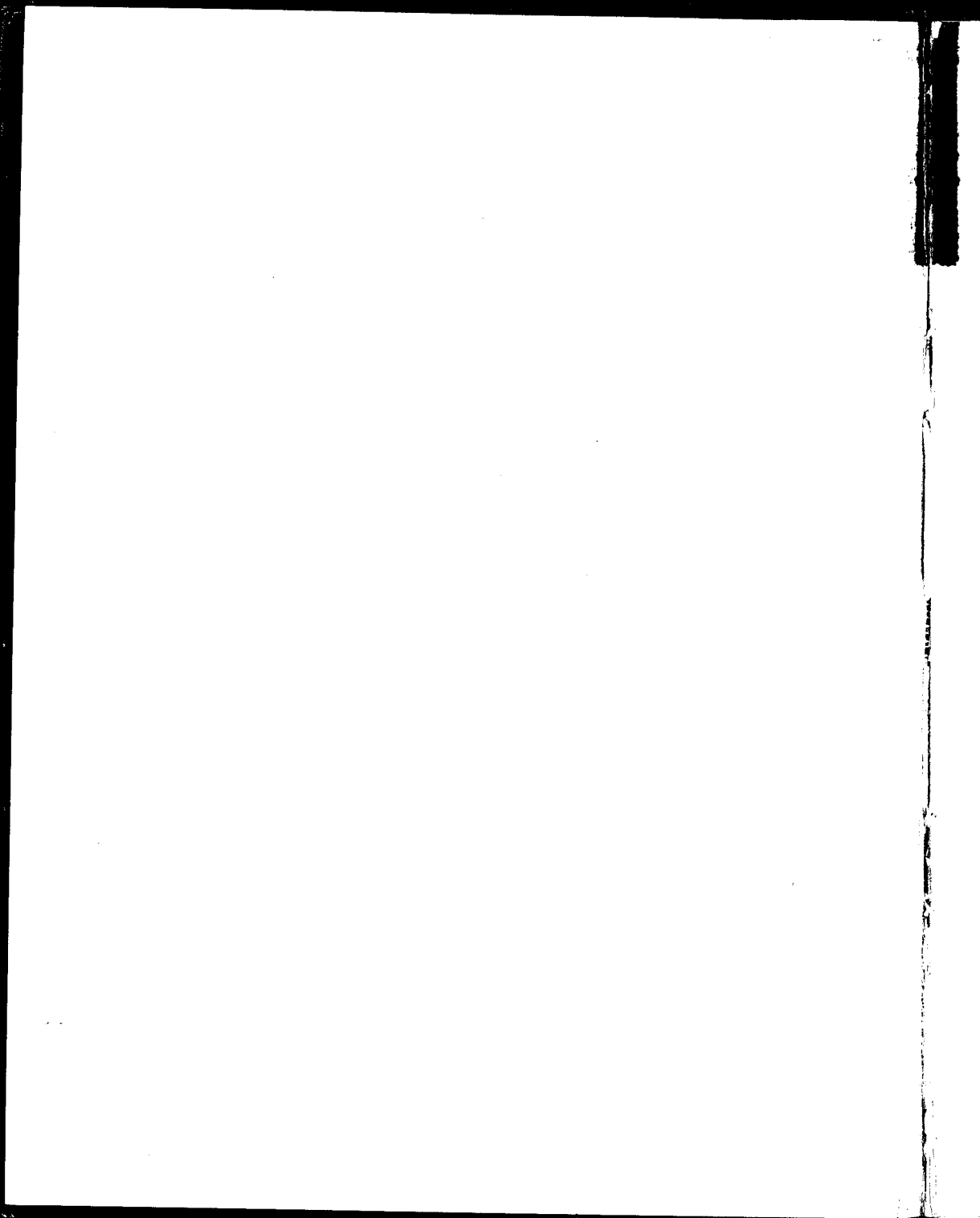
THE
ANSWERS
OF MASTER
ISAAC CASAVBON.

1612.



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ANGLICAN CATHOLICITY
VINDICATED AGAINST
ROMAN INNOVATIONS:
IN THE
ANSWER OF ISAAC CASAUBON
TO CARDINAL PERRON.

*REPRINTED FROM THE TRANSLATION PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY IN 1612, WITH
AN INTRODUCTION, TABLE OF CONTENTS AND FULL INDEX;*

PREPARED BY
W. R. WHITTINGHAM,
AND
HALL HARRISON.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
THE CONFESSION OF FAITH OF KING JAMES I.

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INTRODUCTION.

THAT ISAAC CASAUBON,^a a Huguenot layman, son of a pastor who died in exile for his religion, came to be the penman of the Church of England, happened on this wise.

Living in Geneva, from early years a devout communicant there, and son-in-law of Henry Stephens, the prince of scholarly printers, he established by his published writings and private correspondence such a reputation for universal scholarship and extraordinary critical sagacity, as induced the eminent French lawyer and historian, the President de Thou, with other men of influence in Paris, to bring their countryman back to France, at first as a teacher in Protestant institutions of learning in the Southern provinces, and three years afterward by appointment of Henry IV., first as Professor and then as Royal Librarian, to residence in Paris. There, the royal apostate who "thought the mass not to be refused when a crown was to be had for taking it," used both personal persuasion and the agency of influential and able men, to obtain for his own recreancy the countenance of an imitation by a scholar of so great a reputation as CASAUBON had attained. For ten years he was worried and distraught by an almost unceasing series of assaults upon his religious constancy by one after another with whom by royal command or at the importunity of private friends (some, unhappily, sharers in the royal versatility of faith), he was brought into conference on the points of difference.

His private diary, not many years ago first published by Canon Russell, reveals what painful struggles these proselyting efforts occasioned him, sensible as they made him

^a Born Feb. 18, 1559; died in London, July 12, 1614.

him of many of the weaknesses of the system in which he had been brought up. In part he learned that lesson at the outset when filling, in 1600, the honorable position of umpire in the famous conference between Du Plessis Mornay and Cardinal Perron. The assailant in that ill-managed and unfair dispute, himself a convert avowedly for a living, from the Huguenot ranks, earned a Cardinal's hat by discomfiture of his ill-matched adversary. His efforts to grace his victory still further by the conquest of the judges on the Huguenot side, succeeded in the case of Canaye de Fresne, CASAUBON's friend and patron. They became the more frequent, busied and untiring; until on the murder of his royal master, May 14, 1610, CASAUBON, two of whose sons were seduced from his side by the arts of those whose snares were compassing his own soul, sought refuge in England, at the invitation of Bancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the company of Edward Wotton, then returning from his temporary embassy to Paris.

CASAUBON's friends in the French Court were strong enough to keep for him his places during a temporary absence, and it was only for such that he took his leave. But both his correspondence and still more fully and clearly his diary, show that from the very outset his visit to England was made in the indefinite hope of relief from the distresses and anxieties of his false position as a Huguenot office-holder under the papistically counselled and controlled French government by the Queen Regent.

That he found it to his heart's content, the same sources of information amply prove. His introductions brought him immediately into close and confidential communication with the leading minds of the English Church, who were then well able to appreciate his gifts and attainments, and proportionably disposed to secure his co-operation in
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the desperate struggle for the truth and intellectual freedom against that worthy predecessor of Pius IX., the self-styled "Vice-God," Paul V., and his gigantic champions, Baronius and Bellarmine, with their scores of babbling underlings.

On CASAUBON'S side, the contentment with what he found in England was supreme. The uneasiness of the Geneva religionist under pressure of "antiquity and consent" urged against him by the wondrous memory and inexorable logic of Du Perron, his sense of insufficient mission and of imperfect provision for his spiritual needs, and the revolt of his large mind from the narrow sectarianism of Charenton and Geneva, were all relieved. He met with scholars able as himself to distinguish genuine claims to primitive antiquity from the spurious developments of post-Carolingian hierarchism. He witnessed ministerial work and decent pomp of sacred service kept up in unbroken continuity on the basis of a succession and prescription of a thousand years' duration. He was welcomed in the profession of a faith as broad as the Catholic Creeds, and to a Communion in which the men who sat at Dort, shared counsels, trusts, and honors with Andrewes, Overal and Neale. With Andrewes, particularly, it was the happiness of CASAUBON to make speedily an intimate acquaintance, and they drew together as kindred souls. —

W. R. W.

His Diary gives many evidences that while CASAUBON was engaged in preparing this Answer to Perron, he was in almost daily communication with Andrewes, then Bishop of Ely; the points in controversy were talked over; the doctrines which CASAUBON'S wide reading had already gathered out of the early fathers, were confirmed by Andrewes as the ground upon which the Church of England would wish to rest her cause in the contest with Rome, then so hotly waged by such disputants as Baronius, Bellarmine and Du Perron.

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Thus it has happened that this short Latin Tract, being composed by the first scholar and one of the most learned theologians of his age, and revised, so to say, by Andrewes, the light and ornament of the English Church, is really a valuable summary of the points of difference between England and Rome. Among CASAUBON'S more voluminous and important publications it has been to some degree overlooked, and indeed the old English translation is so rare that there is probably no copy in this country except the one from which this reprint has been made.

Under these circumstances, and seeing that the controversy with Rome on the very points that CASAUBON touches, is waxing warmer and warmer, it seemed worth while to make accessible this admirable treatise, which contains within the compass of a few pages of racy English (interesting even from a literary point of view) a statement of England's position as authoritative as any utterance can be, save the *ipsissima verba* of the Prayer Book and Articles themselves.

While the work was in the printer's hands, an elaborate biography of CASAUBON, by the Rev. Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, appeared in England. The distinguished author, who possesses a remarkable power of presenting a graphic portraiture of the characteristics of an historical period and its leading men, is more occupied with setting forth CASAUBON'S eminence as a scholar and critic, than his merits as a theologian. Indeed he seems scarcely to set a due value upon CASAUBON'S labors in the field of ecclesiastical controversy. "It is impossible to regret," says Mr. Pattison, "that CASAUBON, who could have done work that no one else could, should have been kept to writing pamphlets, which scores of others could have written quite as well.* But it must not be

* This is hardly consistent with Mr. Pattison's own language a few pages further on, where he tells us that "the early and constant bent of CASAUBON'S supposed

supposed that he shared this regret himself, or that he was writing as the hired advocate of a cause in which he was lukewarm. It is to him, not the cause of the king and bishops in which he is fighting; it is the cause of the Church of God--the cause of civil society against the common enemy, the bishop of Rome and his emissaries. Coming from France, he knew, better than the anglican bishops, what that ultramontane yoke meant, against which the english Church was struggling." (Page 349.)

In view of the pamphlet war which has been raging in England for the last ten years, growing out of the so-called Ritualistic development, and considering the intense interest in the Roman Catholic controversy, as proved by the unprecedented circulation of Mr. Gladstone's remarkable publications on "Vaticanism," it is certainly singular to find Mr. Pattison writing as follows:

"The anti-papal controversy of James' reign is as obsolete for our generation as any other theological squabble, and the books in which it is consigned are equally forgotten; CASAUBON's among the rest." (Page 349.)

It is at least worth noting, that at the very time when the Rector of Lincoln College was penning or printing these words, this treatise of CASAUBON, so far from being forgotten, was turned to by one in a distant American diocese, as worthy of reprint and circulation. The anti-papal controversy is far from obsolete in the United States, and the lapse of two hundred and sixty years has in nowise detracted from the intrinsic value of a production which so well combines learning with conciseness, and, in short, is so decidedly *ad rem*. Few things are more satisfactory

mind had been towards theology. But what was commonly known by this name, doctrinal or systematic, theology, as taught in the schools, lay entirely outside his walk. His reading had led him at once to the sources out of which had been constructed that 'web of subtlety and spinosity,' (Bacon: Advancement of Learning) the scholastic theology. He was in possession, as hardly any one else had been, of the key of ecclesiastical antiquity." (Page 355.)

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to those who live, as, alas! we cannot avoid doing, in the very thick of religious discussion, and nothing is more interesting to the student of historical theology, than to come upon the disputes of the day vividly portrayed in some treatise of a past age; to find the would-be admirers of doubtful points in the Roman Faith met and answered long since by one who knew the papal theology well, and also had an acquaintance with the writers of Christian antiquity more thorough and extensive than many in these modern times can pretend to. Mr. Pattison, however, does ample justice to the importance of the controversy as it existed in the reign of James :

“ Those who are acquainted with the situation of affairs at this period, are aware that this was no brawl of rival divines. The catholic historian (Lingard), following the catholic reporter, de la Broderie, draws a ludicrous picture of James, withdrawing from the affairs of State and the pleasures of the chase, shutting himself up with his doctors, and concocting an argument to prove the pope to be anti-christ. Nothing that James did was done becomingly. His pedantic vanity laid him open to the sarcasms of the french Ambassador. At a later period he forfeited the confidence of his subjects by a catholic policy, by the spanish negotiation, the french match, and the inadequate support of his son-in-law and the Protestants of Germany. But in 1611 he was heartily contending against the still advancing tide of the catholic reaction. The form in which this threatened Europe was indeed that of military force, but it was also an invasion of opinion. The jesuits did not draw the sword in Germany until they had gained a footing in the minds of men. The books and pamphlets that were now disseminating were what made the thirty years' war possible. When the enemy was successfully availing himself of the power of the press, it was wise and
necessary

necessary that he should be met on the same ground. Nor was James fighting for his own skin, nor even, as he phrased it, for the rights of princes. The hopes of the ultramontane party at this moment embraced no less than the re-conquest of Christendom to the holy see; the extermination of heresy by fire and sword, as Scioppius had boldly proclaimed in his *Ecclesiasticus* (1611). It was no mere paper warfare. The powder-plot, which we try to forget, or laugh at, was a recent fact; the murder of Henri IV. more recent still. The S. Bartholemew, the Armada, and the cruelties of Alva in Flanders, were not incidents of a legendary fore-time, but the exploits in which a menacing and aggressive party gloried, and which they hoped to repeat or out-do." (Pages 350, 351.)

Those who desire further information about CASAUBON will be more than repaid by the perusal of Mr. Pattison's valuable and interesting work, which graphically describes the scholar himself and the literary society of Geneva, Paris, and London, where his life of arduous study was passed. We have room here only for the account of his last moments: "Thoris (his physician) wished to attend him as a friend, and refused his tendered fee. When CASAUBON insisted he took it, saying that 'he could not stand in the way of a patient's wish to exercise the virtue of gratitude.' Nothing could be done, but to mitigate his sufferings by the hot bath and bleeding." He sustained the combat with death amid dreadful torments, borne with that entire resignation to the divine will which might have been expected from one whose life had been one prolonged devotion. His one regret was, that he must leave his work on Church history unfinished. His words latterly became inaudible, but it could be perceived that he was holding converse with that God, whom he had never forgotten for a single hour of his life. He lingered thus for more than

a fortnight. On Friday, July 12 (July 1, O. S.), he received the eucharist at the hands of the bishop of Ely. After the ceremony, he signified his wish to have the 'Nunc dimittis' read aloud, and he accompanied the reader with failing voice. He had his children brought to his bedside, gave them his blessing, one by one, and strictly charged them not to follow the example of their older brother, but to continue in the religion in which they had been brought up. At 5 P. M. he ceased to breathe." In the scarce treatise now reprinted will be found a specimen of CASAUBON'S method of handling subjects of controversy which have not yet been forgotten, nor wholly lost their interest even in the busy age in which we are living.

The publication of the *Confession of King James I.* along with CASAUBON'S work was an after-thought. It vividly illustrates the description which Mr. Pattison has given of James's manner and method of meeting on the same ground the enemy who was so successfully availing himself of the power of the press. While it was indeed 'no mere paper warfare,' since the Jesuits looked to nothing less than the overthrow of the King of England, it is plain that the part performed by the press in this warfare, was carried on with a vigor and power seldom surpassed, even by great masters of the English language in later times.

In both the reprints it has been thought best, for reasons which need not be detailed at length, to retain the eccentric spelling and punctuation of the originals. *N.H.*

CONFESSION OF FAITH
OF
KING JAMES I.

This is reprinted from a rare book with the following title: AN APOLOGIE FOR THE OATH of Allegiance: First Set forth without a name, and now acknowledged by the Author, the right High and Mightie Prince, JAMES by the grace of God, King of Great *Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.* Together, with a Premonition of his Maesties to all most mightie Monarches, Kings, free Princes and States of Christendome. PSALM 2, Verse 10, *Et nunc Reges intelligite: crudimini qui iudicatis terram.* ROM. 14, Verse 13. *Non ergo amplius invicem iudicemus: Sed hoc ~~iudicate~~ iudicate magis, ne ponatis offendiculum fratri, vel scandalum.* IMPRINTED AT London by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maestie. ANNO 1609. *Cum privilegio Regali.*



CONFESSION OF KING JAMES I.

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AND now for the point of *Heretike*, I will neuer be ashamed to render an account of my profession, and of that hope that is in me as the Apostle prescribeth. I am such a Catholike Christian, as beleeueth the three *Creeds*; that of the *Apostles*, that of the *Council* of *Nice*, and that of *Athanasius*; the two latter being *Paraphrases* to the former: and I beleeeue them in that sense as the ancient *Fathers* and *Councils* that made them, did vnderstand them. To which three *Creeds* all the Ministers of *England* doe subscribe at their Ordination. And I also acknowledge for Orthodoxe al those other formes of *Creeds* that either were deuised by *Councils* or particular *Fathers*, against such particular heresies, as most raigned in their times.

I reuerence and admit the foure first generall *Councils*, as Catholike and Orthodoxe; and the said foure generall *Councils* are acknowledged by our Acts of *Parliament*, and receiued for Orthodoxe by our Church.

As for the *Fathers*, I reuerence them as much, and more than the *Iesuites* doe, and as much as themselues euer craued. For, whateuer the Fathers for the first foure hundreth yeeres did with an vnanime consent agree vpon to bee beleeued as a necessary point of saluation, I either will beleeeue it also, or at least, will be humbly silent; not taking vpon me to condemn the same: but for euery priuate Fathers opinion, it binds not my conscience more then *Bellarmins*; every one of the *Fathers* vsually contradicting

^a Lib. 2. Cont.
Cresconium. Cap.
31.

dicting others. I will therefore in that case follow S. ^a Augustines rule in iudging of their opinions, as I finde them agree with the Scriptures; what I find agreeable thereunto I will gladly imbrace; what is otherwise, I will, with their reuerence, reiect.

^b Lib. I. de verb.
Del. c. 4.

As for the *Scriptures*, no man doubteth, I will beleeeue them; but euen for the *Apocrypha*, I hold them in the same account that the ancients did: they are still printed and bound with our Bibles, and publikely read in our Churches; I reuerence them as the writings of holy and good men: but since they are not found in the *Canon*, we account them to be *secundae lectionis*, or *ordinis*, which is Bellarmins owne distinction; and therefore not sufficient whereupon alone to ground any article of Faith, except it be confirmed by some other place of Canonickall Scripture.

As for the *Saints departed*, I honour their memory, and in honour of them, doe wee in our Church obserue the dayes of so many of them, as the Scripture doeth canonize for Saints; but I am loath to beleeeue all the tales of the legended Saints.

^a Luc. I. 28.
^b ibid ver. 48.

But first, for the blessed *Virgine* MARIE, I yeeld her that, which the Angell *Gabriel* pronounced of her, and which in her *Canticle* shee prophecied of her selfe: that is, that "shee is blessed amongst women, and ^b that all generations shal call her blessed. I reuerence her as the mother of CHRIST, whom of our Sauour tooke his flesh, and so the mother of GOD, since the Diuinitie and IHumanitie of CHRIST are inseparable. And I freely confesse that she is in glory, both aboue Angels and men; her owne Sonne that is both GOD and man, onely excepted. But I dare not mock her and blaspheme against God, calling her not only *Diua* but *Dea*, and praying to her to commaund and controule her Sonne, who is her GOD and her Sauour; Nor yet can I thinke, that shee hath no other thing to doe

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in heauen, then to heare euery idle mans sute, and busie herselfe in their errands, whiles requesting, whiles commanding her Sonne, whiles comming downe to kisse, and make loue with *Priests*, and whiles disputing, and brawling with *Deuils*. In heauen she is in eternall glory and joy, neuer to be interrupted with any worldly businesse, and there I leaue her with her blessed Sonne our Sauour and hers in eternall felicity.

As for *prayer to Saints*, Christ (I am sure) hath commanded vs to come all to him that are loaden with sinne, and he will relieue vs; and *S. Paul* hath forbidden vs to worship Angells; or vse any such voluntary worship, that hath a shew of humility, in that it spareth not the flesh. But what warrant wee haue to haue recourse vnto these *Dij Penates*, or *Tutelares*, these Courtiers of God, I know not; I remit that to these philosophicall neoterike Diuines. It satisfieth me to pray to God through *Christ*, as I am commanded, which I am sure must be the safest way; and I am sure the safest way is the best way in points of saluation. But if the *Romish Church* hath coyned new Articles of faith, neuer heard of in the first 500 yeeres after *Christ*, I hope I shal neuer be condemned for an Heretike, for not being a Nouellist. Such are the *private Masses*, where the *Priest* plaieth the part both of the Priest and of the people; And such are the *amputatiō of the one halfe of the Sacrament*, frō the People; The *Transubstantiation*, *Eleuation for adoration*, and *circumportation* in procession of the Sacrament; The *works of supererogation* rightly named *Thesaurus Ecclesiae*; The *Baptising of Bells*, and a thousand other tricks: But aboue all, the *worshipping of Images*. If my faith be weake in these, I confesse I had rather beleeeve too little then too much. And yet since I beleeeue as much as the *Scriptures* doe warrant, the *Creedes* doe perswade, and the ancient *Councils* decreed; I may well

Matt. xi. v. 28.

Coloss. ii. 8, 23.

well be a *Schismaticke* from *Rome*, but I am sure I am no *Heretike*.

For *Reliques of Saints*; If I had any such that I were assured were members of their bodies, I would honourably bury them; and not give them the reward of condemned mens members, which are only ordained to be deprived of buriall: But for worshipping either them or *Images*, I must account it damnable Idolatry. I am no *Iconomachus*; I quarrell not the making of Images either for publike decoration, or for mens private vses; But that they should be worshipped, be prayed to, or any holinesse attributed vnto them, was neuer knowne of the Ancients: and the Scriptures are so directly, vehemently, and punctually against it, as I wonder what braine of man, or suggestion of *Sathan*, durst offer it to Christians; and all must be salued with nice philosophicall distinctions: As *Idolvm nihil est*: And they worship, forsooth, the images of things *in being*, and the Image of the *true God*. But the Scripture forbiddeth to worship the Image of anything that God created; It was not a *nihil* then that God forbade onely to be worshipped, neither was the brasen serpent, nor the body of Moses a *nihil*; and yet the one was destroyed, and the other hidden, for eschewing of idolatry: yea, the Image of God himselfe, is not onely expressly forbidden to be worshipped, but euen to be made. The reason is giuen, that no eye euer saw God; and how can wee paint his face, when Moses the man that euer was most familiar with God, neuer saw but his backe parts? Surely since hee cannot be drawen to the viue, it is a thanklesse labour to marre it with a false representation, which no Prince, nor scarce any other man will be contented with in their owne pictures. Let them therefore that maintaine this doctrine, answere it to *Christ* at the latter day, when he shall accuse them of Idolatry; And then I doubt, if he will be payd

payd with such nice sophisticall distinctions. But *Christs Crosse* must haue a particular priuiledge, say they, and be worshipped, *ratione contactus*. But first wee must know, what kinde of touching of *Christs* body drew a vertue from it; whether euery touching, or only touching by faith. That euery touching of his body drew not vertue from it, is more then manifest. When the woman in the bloody flux touched him, she was healed for her faith; But *Peter* then told him, that a crowd and throng of many people then touched him, and yet none of them receiued any benefit or vertue from him. *Judas* touched him many and many a time, besides his last kisse; so did the villaines that buffeted and crucified him; and yet, I may safely pronounce them accursed, that would bestow any worship vpon their Reliques: yea, we cannot deny but the land of Canaan itselſe, whereupon our Lord did dayly tread, is so visibly accursed, being gouerned by faithlesse *Turkes*, full of innumerable sects of hereticall Christians, and the very fertility thereof so farre degenerated into a pitiful sterilitie, as he must be accursed that counteth it blessed. Nay, when a certaine woman blessed the belly that bare *Christ*, and the breasts that gaue him sucke; Nay rather, saith he, *Blessed are they that heare the word of God, and keepe it*. Except then they could first proue that *Christ* had resolued to blesse that tree of the *Crosse* whereupon he was nailed, they can never proue that his touching it, could giue it any vertue. And put the case it had a vertue of doing of miracles, as *Peters* shadow had; yet doth it not follow, that it is lawfull to worship it, which *Peter* would neuer accept of. Surely the Prophets that in so many places curse those that worship Images, that haue eyes and see not: that haue eares and heare not; would much more haue cursed them, that worship a peece of a stick, that hath not so much as any resemblance or representation of eyes, or eares.

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* Jubilees, Indulgences, satisfaction for the dead, &c.

Lib. 2. de Purgat. c. 7.

Iohn 14.

As for *Purgatory*, and all the *trash depending thereupon, it is not worth the talking of; *Bellarmino* cannot finde any ground for it in all the Scripture: onely I would pray him to tell me; If that fair greene meadow that is in *Purgatory*, have a brooke running thorow it, that in case I come there, I may have hawking upon it. But for me, I am sure there is a heauen and a hell, *premium et poena*, for the Elect and reprobate: How many other roomes there be, I am not on God his Counsel. *Multae sunt mansiones in domo Patris mei*, saith *Christ*, who is the true *Purgatory* for our sinnes: But how many chambers, and anti-chambers the Deuill hath, they can best tell that goe to him; But in case there were more places for souls to goe to then we know of, yet let vs content vs with that, which in his Word he hath reuealed vnto vs, and not inquire further into his secrets. Heauen and hell are there reuealed to be the eternall home of all mankind: let vs indeuour to winne the one, and eschew the other; and there is an ende.

Now in all this discourse, haue I yet left out the maine Article of the Romish faith, and that is the *head of the Church*, or *Peters Primacie*; for who denieth this, denieth *fidem Catholicam*, saith *Bellarmino*. That Bishops ought to be in the Church, I euer maintained, as an Apostolike institution, and so the ordinance of God contrary to the *Puritanes*; and likewise to *Bellarmino*, who denieth that Bishops have their iurisdiction from God, (But it is no wonder he takes the Puritanes part, since Iesuits are nothing but Puritane-Papists) And as I euer maintained the state of Bishops, and the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie for order sake; so was I euer an enemy to that confused Anarchie, or paritie of the *Puritanes*, as well appeareth in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΡΟΝ. Heauen is governed by order, and all the good Angels there; nay, hell itselfe could not subsist without

^a Bellarm. Lib. 4. de Rom. Pontif. c. 25.

without some order; And the very deuils are diuided into Legions, and have their chieftaines: how can any societie then upon earth subsist without order and degrees? And therefore I cannot enough wonder, with what brassen face this answerer could say, that I was a *Puritane* in *Scotland*, and an enemy to *Protestants*, I that was persecuted by *Puritanes* there, not from my birth onely, but euer since foure moneths before my birth? I that in the yeere of God 84. erected Bishops, and depressed all their popular parities, I then not being 18. yeeres of age? I that in my said Booke to my sonne, doe speake tenne times more bitterly of them, nor of the Papists, hauing in my second edition thereof, affixed a long Apologetike *Preface*, onely in *odium Puritanorum*; and I that for the space of sixe yeeres before my comming into England, laboured nothing so much, as to depresse their *Paritie*, and re-erect *Bishops* againe; Nay, if the dayly commentaries of my life and actions in *Scotland* were written, as *Iulius Casars* were, there would scarcely a moneth passe in all my life, since my entring into the 13 yeere of my age, wherein some accident or other would not conuince the *Cardinall* of a lye on this point: And surely I give a faire commendation to the Puritanes in that place in my booke, where I affirme, that I have found greater honesty with the highland and border theeues, than with that sort of people. But leauing him to his owne impudence, I return to my purpose. Of Bishops and Church Hierarchies, I very well allow (as I said before) and likewise of Rancks and degrees amongst *Bishops*. *Patriarches* I know were in the time of the Primitiue Church, and I likewise reuerence that Institution for order sake; And amongst them was a contention for the first place: and for myselfe, if that were yet the question, I would with all my heart giue my consent, that the Bishop of Rome should haue the first Seate; I being a Western King, would goe
with

Luk. 22. 25.

Iohn 14. 26.

Matt. 18. 18.

I. Cor. 5. 4.

with the *Patriarch* of the West. And for his temporall Principality ouer the Signory of *Rome*, I doe not quarrell it neither; let him in God his Name be *Primus Episcopus inter omnes Episcopos*, and *Princeps Episcoporum*; so it be no otherwise but as *Peter* was *Princeps Apostolorum*. But as I wel allow of the Hierarchie of the Church for distinction of orders (for so I vnderstand it) so I vtterly denie, that there is any earthly Monarchie thereof, whose word must be a Law, and who cannot erre in his Sentence by an infallibility of Spirit. Because earthly kingdoms must haue earthly *Monarches*, it doth not follow, that the Church must haue a visible Monarchie too: for the world hath not one earthly temporal *Monarchie*. CHRIST is his Churches *Monarchie*, and the holy Ghost his Deputie. *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos autem non sic*. CHRIST did not promise before his ascension, to leave *Peter* with them to direct and instruct them in all things; but he promised to send the holy Ghost vnto them for that end. And as for these two before cited places, whereby *Bellarmino* maketh the Pope to triumph over Kings; I meane *Pasce oues*, and *Tibi dabo clauces*, the Cardinall knowes well enough, that the same wordes of *Tibi dabo*, are in other places spoken by *Christ* in the plurall number: And he likewise knowes, what reason the Ancients doe giue why *Christ* bade *Peter* *pasce oues*: and also what a cloud of witnesses there is both of Ancients, and euen of late Popish writers; yea diuers Cardinals, that doe all agree, that both these speaches vsed to *Peter*, were meant to all the Apostles, represented in his Person: Otherwise how could Paul direct the Church of *Corinth* to excommunicate the incestuous person *cum Spiritu suo*, whereas he should then haue said *cum Spiritu Petri*? And how could all the Apostles otherwise haue used all their censures only in *Christ's* Name, and neuer a word of his Vicar? *Peter*, we reade,
did

did in all the Apostles meetings sit amongst them as one of their number: And when chosen men were sent to *Antiochia* from that Apostolike Councel at Ierusalem, Act. 15. The text saith, *It seemed good to the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church, to send chosen men*; but no mention made of the head thereof, and so in their Letters no mention is made of *Peter*, but only of the Apostles, elders, and brethren. And it is a wonder why Paul rebuketh the Church of Corinth, for making exception of Persons; for that some followed *Peter*, some Apollos, and so forth, if *Peter* was their visible Head: for then those that followed not *Peter*, renounced the Catholike faith. But it appeareth well, that *Paul* knew little of our new doctrine, since he handleth *Peter* so rudely, as he not onely compareth, but preferreth himselfe unto him. But our Cardinall proues *Peters* superiority by *Pauls* going to visite him. Indeepe *Paul* saith, he went to *Ierusalem* to visite *Peter* and conferre with him, but he should haue added to kisse his feete. To conclude then, the trueth is, that *Peter* was both in age, and in the time of *Christes* calling him, one of the first of the Apostles; In order, the principall of the first twelue, and one of the three whom *Christ* for order sake, preferred to all the rest. And no further did the Bishop of Rome claime for three hundreth yeeres after *Christ*: Subiect they were to the generall *Councils*, and euen but of late did the Councell of *Constance* depose three Popes and set up the fourth. And vntil Phocas dayes that murdered his master, were they subiect to Emperours. But how they are now come to be *Christs* Vicars, nay, *Gods on earth, triple-Crowned, Kings of heauen, earth and hell, Iudges of all the World*, and none to Iudge them; *Heads of the faith, Absolute deciders of all controversies*, by the infallibilitie of their Spirit, hauing all power both Spirituall and Temporal in their hands, the *high Bishops*,

I. Cor 3. 4.
[1. 12.]

Galat. 2.

Gal. 1. 18.

Bishops, Monarches of the whole earth; Superior to all Emperours and Kings; yea, Supreme Vice-Gods, who whether*

* With the trenchant language of King James I. on the claims of the Popes in his day, compare the words of Mr. Gladstone on those same claims as affected by the Vatican Council. They are quoted from "*The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance*," a production which friends and foes alike must admit to be one of the most remarkable pamphlets ever published:—"The Rome of the Middle Ages claimed universal monarchy. The Modern Church of Rome has abandoned nothing, retracted nothing. Is this all? Far from it. By condemning (as will be seen) those who, like Bishop Doyle in 1826, charge the Mediaeval Popes with aggression, she unconditionally, even if covertly, maintains what the Mediaeval Popes maintained. But even this is not the worst. The worst by far is that whereas in the national Churches and communities of the Middle Ages there was a brisk, vigorous, and constant opposition to those outrageous claims—an opposition which stoutly asserted its own orthodoxy, which always caused itself to be respected, and which even sometimes gained the upper hand, now, in this nineteenth century of ours, and while it is growing old, this same opposition has been out of Court, and judicially extinguished within the Papal Church, by the recent decrees of the Vatican. My propositions, then, . . . are these:

1. That 'Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *Semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith.'

2. That she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused.

3. That no one can now become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.

4. That she ('Rome') has equally repudiated Modern thought and Ancient history."

In view of all this, one cannot help saying to certain (whose good motives we do not question) in our own Church, *Quorsum hæc?* Is this the time to be talking of the 'so-called' Reformation, and to run the risk of compromising truth and the interests of pure Christianity by minimising the essential differences between England and Rome, so stoutly maintained by the old Anglican Divines?

As we write, the Address of Bishop KERFOOT, of Pittsburgh, to his convention, comes to hand, from which we are glad to add the following earnest and weighty sentences in support of these views:

"The struggle *there* (among the Old Catholics in Germany) is to break off chains from intellect, conscience, and freedom, civil and religious.

The lesson to us *here*, is to see to it in time, that the like chains be not wrought craftily, and fastened on us and our children. No wise man will overlook the peril. American forges may be worked by foreign muscle and skill, in *this* sense as in others; and in this age and land of ours, even faster than in other and older ones, the manacles supposed to be discarded and renounced, might be reproduced and locked, before Americans wake up.

The conference in Bonn, was the meeting of godly, intelligent men, not under Romish, Tridentine thralldom, but true to primitive Catholic order and creeds, to discover by vigilant, kindly conferences, how far the churches we belonged to, could agree in utterances on the great truths and principles of the gospel; and especially on those which Romanism had corrupted. Our venerable leader there is by universal concession recognized as one of the ablest, if not the very ablest, of the theologians of our day. The "agreements" (as was the phrase used) covered a width of doctrinal ground, greater than the most sanguine had hoped for. The enquiry was for genuine, intelligent agreement, for ground fairly and really common—between the Old Catholics, the Greeks, and the Anglican churchmen of England and of America. Staunch Lutherans, too, were there, and in hearty sympathy; but with generous wisdom, they left, for the most part, the questions to the test of the responses made in behalf of the old historic churches. The questions bore on most of the points where Rome has corrupted the Gospel in

they

they wil or not, cannot erre: how they are now come, I say, to this top of greatnesse, I know not: but sure I am, we that are Kings, haue greatest need to look vnto it. As for me, *Paul* and *Peter* I know; but these men I know not: and yet to doubt of this, is to deny the *Catholike faith*; nay, the world it selfe must be turned up-side down, and the order of nature inuerted, making the left hand to haue the place before the right; and the last named to be first in honour, that this Primacy may be maintained.

Thvs haue I now made a free confession of my *Faith*, and, I hope I haue fully cleared myself from being an *Apostate*: and as farre from being a *heretike*, as he that beleueth the *Scriptures*, and the three *Creeds*, and acknowledgeth the foure first *generall Councels* may be. If I be loath to beleue too much, especially nouelties; men of greater knowledge may well pitie my weaknesse, but I am sure none will condemn me for an *Heretike*, saue such as make the Pope their God; and think him such a speaking Scripture as they can define heresie no otherwise, but to be whatsoever opinion that is maintained against the Popes definition of faith; and I will sincerely promise, that whenever any point of the religion I preferre shall be proued to be new, and not *Ancient*, *Catholike*, and *Apostolike*, I mean for matter of *Faith*, I will as soon renounce it; closing vp this head with the maxime of *Vincentius*

Bellar. de Rom.
Pont. Lib. I. c. 27.

spite of the protests of real Catholic truth. The answers prove that, but for Romanism, with its false dogmas and lawless barriers, the hope of intercommunion among the old historic churches might become practicable. And it was most impressive and most cheering to us Anglican churchmen, American and English alike, to see the principles and main results of our Reformation, as exhibited and preserved for more than three centuries in our Prayer Book, thoroughly reasserted by able men now, of other races and antecedents, coming up, as these men did, to the search for the truth, on principles at once free and conservative, scriptural, primitive and historic. Such principles (one saw) could leave no standing ground for the revolutionists who would now still further expurgate our Prayer Book; nor any excuse for the men of opposite tendencies who craved to re-introduce among us some of those very corruptions in doctrine, discipline or worship, from which I heard those wise and good men say so earnestly that they thanked God that they had escaped."

Lerincensis,

Libello aduersus
haereticos.

Lerinensis, that I will neuer refuse to imbrace any opinion in *Diuinitie* necessarie to saluation, which the whole Catholike Chvrch, with an vnanime consent, have constantly taught, and beleueed, euen from the Apostles dayes, for the space of many ages thereafter, without interruption. * * * * *

END.

THE
A N S V V E R E
OF MASTER
I S A A C C A S A V B O N
to the Epistle

OF THE MOST ILLVSTRIOVS
and most reuerend Cardinall PERON.

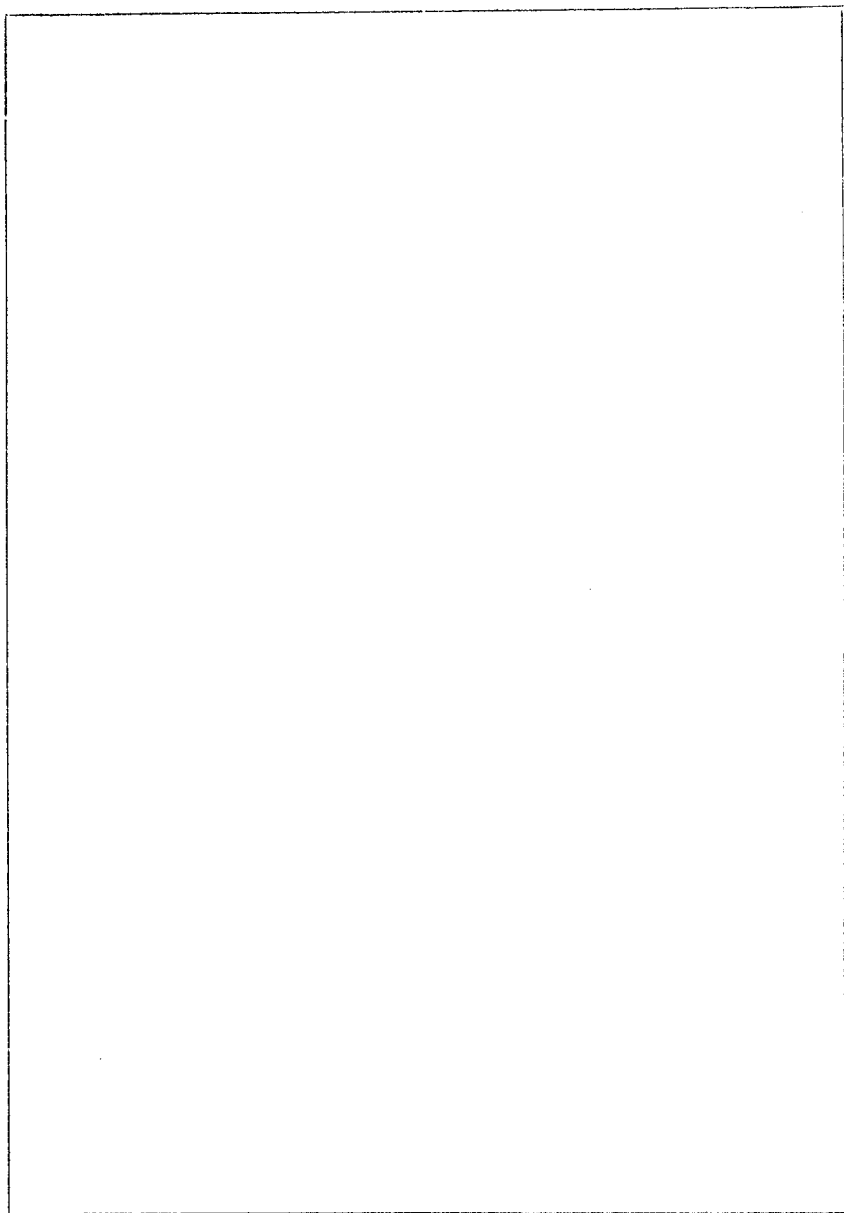
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TO SIR THOMAS EDMONDS HIS MAIESTIES

Legier in France.

ISAAC CASAVBON wisheth
Health.

HONOURABLE Sir, the importunate curiositie of men hath at length overcome my purpose, which would not suffer neither this answer, nor the Epistle that gaue the occasion of it to keepe priuate with other seroles in the desks of the owners. As for me, how unwilling I haue been from the beginning and euer since to haue it published, both you well know, and others of worth can witnesse, who haue earnestly requested that of me, yet did not preuaile. But now seeing so great a man forced to yeeld vnto other mens desire, let none marueile that I also haue done the same. And although this Answer was not written to the end that it should be published; yet if they into whose hands it shall come, be equall and moderately minded, not seruile to affections, there will proue no cause (I trust) that I should repent of publishing it, or they of reading it. It shall be knowne to honest men, and such as be desirous of publike agreement amongst Christian people, (as I haue obserued the most to be on both sides, that are good men, and intelligent in matters Divine) that they haue his excellent Maestie of GREAT BRITTAINE, ioyning with them in their most holie wish, yea, with most earnest desire. Who although he haue iust cause to be perswaded that his words, his writings, and his actions heretofore haue made manifest to the whole Christian world the excellencie of his

κακὴν πρᾶξιν.

his minde in this behalfe; yet he thought good not to despise this occasion happened also of declaring the same. Who is there so void of al sense of piety, which doth not embrace, and admire this affection in so mightie a Prince? Who so sauage and barbarous as otherwise to interpret it, or to make doubt whether this answere of the King did proceed from a vehement desire of concord? Religious and wise men shall further vnderstand what manner of peace, and concord in the Church this most pious Prince wisheth: and vpon what termes and conditions his Maiestie is readie to make covenant. For this answere is tempered with such moderation, that the zealous endeouour by all good meanes to make vp peace, appeareth not to be inferiour to the zealous endeouour of defending the truth. And this surely is the Kings opinion, this his firme sentence, that it is but vaine for such men to thinke, or talke of the peace of the Church, which are not afraid to separate and disioyne this celestiaall chariot, which ought in no wise to be decoupled. That in vaine therefore doe they vaunt of the truth of their opinion, who maliciously interpreting all he sayings of other men, and deducting thence such absurd consequences as they list, giuing bad example of such peruerse industrie, doe proue themselves destitute of charitie, which is the mother of vnitie. That in vaine also doe they vsurpe the golden names of Charitie and Vnitie, which are not willing to admit of Truth, which is the foundation of pietie that is sincere. It was of old excellently spoken by S. Hilarie: *Beautiful is the name of peace* (saith he) *and faire is the opinion of vnitie; but who may doubt, that that only is the peace of the Church, which is the peace of Christ?* The peace of Christ, which alone is taught by this most holy father to be approached off in the Church, it is that, by which the doctrine of Christ, which he taught his Apostles, and his Apostles taught the primitive Church, doth remaine safe defended, and unshaken. Let those to whom it belongeth, who challenge the principall places in the Church, offer vnto his Maiestie such a peace, and straightway the discord is ended. Let them ingeniously and faithfully separate humane matters from diuine, things superstitious from things religious, nouelties, and lateborne deuices from such matters as be truly ancient, lastly, the nothing or lesse necessarie, from the necessary: and I say againe, and I erie aloud, that all may heare, on his Maiesties part, and for the Church of England, the discord is at an end. Now, to come vnto so great a benefit, there lieth but one Kings streete, as it were, which from the entrance of the Church hath been beaten by our ancestors,

namely

namely the free celebration of a General Councell: wherein the complaints of all Nations may be heard, wherein controversies may be determined, and peace for the time ensuing, by Gods mercie bee established. For the rooting of bad opinions out of mens mindes, and for the reconciliation of nations divided by dissention, the Church in all ages knew no other course but this, nor vsed other but this; they vsed not violence nor armes. But seeing by reason of the generall sinnes of vs all, there appears no hope of a Generall Councell, yet it would be some ease of this euill, if the great libertie, or rather unbridled licence of daily writing and publishing bookes of Diuinitie, were by seuerer lawes on both sides restrained. For now what hope can remaine, when throughout all Europe euery where, euer new and then, new writers come abroad, such as be readie to powre oyle into the fire, rather then by casting on water to extinguish the flame. *Gregorie Nazianzen*, that admirable Diuine, could not endure in the men of his time, the curiositie in disputing of diuine matters: and in diuers places of his writings hee affirms that the only cause almost of the euils which that age suffered, not unlike to ours now adaies, was this: because men, void of Gods spirit, commonly and promiscuously did dispute of spirituall things, and conuert Theologie into technicology, that is, make no other use of Diuinity but as a matter of learned, or artificiall discourse, as they talke of other arts and sciences out of humane reason. From this licence, which now almost euery where beareth sway, rise so many new termes, and such diuersitie of formes of speech, and sentences which daily more and more breed dissention in the Church of God. Away then with this libertie of prophesying, which is so pleasing vnto some of these times, if they vnderstand thereby a licence of broaching new deuices, and departing from the doctrine which hath been receiued by consent of all men in the ages of the primitive Church. What should I tell here of those manuscript, and unlettered writers, which are scarcely perfit in the first elements of Christian religion, which daily come forth of these places especially, where, without any difference made of good or euill demeanours, without respect of knowledge or ignorance, to the hurt of the common good, rewards are propounded, vnto any one that being growne impudent can set out a booke against the aduerser part, though it be full of rage, and emptie of all learning. But what good can be hoped for from such, as make the knowledge of diuinitie a trade of liuing, a helpe or way to get money? whom neither the glorie of God doth

τεχνολογῶσι
 ζῆλον αὐ-
 τῶν θεο-
 λογῶσι

καταργεῖται

doth moue to write, nor the loue of truth, nor the edification of the Church, much lesse the desire of godly and holie peace: but reward only, and base hire, or the tickling of vaine glorie? * * * [A couple of pages of personal rebuke of one *Pelletier*, a scribbler of this kind, whom the President *de Thou* had advised Casaubon to gibbet, are here omitted, as not pertaining to the ends of this reprint.]

* * * You see (honourable Sir) what kinde of Diuines spring of late, which like to Mushroms grow great in one night, whom therefore the Greek Diuine wittily tearmeth *soane diuines* (*απαροι θεολόγοι*) and worthilie debarreth from the handling of sacred things. But I returne to this Answer, which hauing found published corruptly in the parts beyond sea, I receiued it, and corrected it. And

this I send to you for a testimonie of my loue and ser-

uice, which I know will be welcome to

you. Farewell. London,

April 10. MDCXII.

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THE ANSVVERE OF Mr. ISAAC CASAVBON TO THE

Epistle of the most illustrious, and most
reverend Cardinall PERON.

MOST illustrious, and most reuerend
Lord, I haue learned (as I thinke) by
vse, and experience, that there is no
euill so great, out of which, or by occa-
sion whereof some good may not arise.
And as it is an vsuall speech that
honey breedeth gall; so it may bee
said not vnfitly, that somtimes out
of pure gall commeth pure honey.

Not to seeke any further prooffe of this, the lewd book of that de-
bosh't cauiller, which gaue me first occasion by his excellent
Maiesties commaund, of writing to your illustrious Honour, it was
pure gall, and that most virulent. But both your letters, which
vpon that occasion you sent me, seasoned with singular courtesie,
humanitie and prudence, witnessing the faire ingenuitie of the au-
thor, were sweeter to me then any honey. Wherefore I was not
afraid to shew them vnto his Maiestie, and his Maiestie, although
he approued not of all that was in them, (for that could not be) yet
hee refused not, but was willing to reade them both. It delighted
him very much, that yet he knew one Diuine of your side, a man
of chiefe place, of honorable estimation, and excellent learning,
which handling the controuersies of these times, appeared to be of
a moderate, and quiet disposition. For, with what spirit the most
are led, which now adaiies set out bookes of this argument, there
needs

needs no more sufficient declaration then out of those writers which hitherto haue oppugned his Maiesties Apologie. All of them (if you except one or two) filling their vnhappy leaues with lies, reproches, and foule language. But especially the words in your last letters did delight his Maiestie, whose minde is enflamed with the zeale of sincere pietie, whereby you seemed to put him in hope that this friendly communication concerning matters of religion was like not to prooue fruitlesse. Which thing as it pleased the King marueilously, who is readie vpon this condition to vndergoe any paines, so, if there remaine no hope hereof; neither is there any iust cause why his Maiestie, or your Honour should trouble your selues. Surely I hope, if your Worthinesse will take serious care of it, that with the helpe of almightie God, you may effect, by the authoritie which you have amongst your owne, and the report of learning, and wit amongst all, that by these mutual writings, some good profit may redownd to ye Church of Iesus Christ. As for his most excellent Maiestie of *Great Britaine*, in whose Court I haue now liued a whole yeere and more, I dare promise you, and with all manner of asseueration confirme, that he is so affected, and that the course of his whole life hath bin so ordered, that all men may easily vnderstand there is nothing dearer to him then the carefull endeouour for religion. Neither priuate businesse, nor the publike cares of his kingdome doe vsually so affect his Maiestie, as a kinde of vnmeasurable desire by all meanes to promote religion, and (which consideration most besecmes so great a King) an exceeding affection by all right and honest meanes to procure peace amongst the dissenting members of the Church. And this care so fitting a Christian Prince, the most pious King hath not confined within the bounds of his owne kingdome, though very large, but remembering that he is stiled the *Defendour of the faith*, he hath thought good, not out of any curiositie, but a vehemencie of zeale to extend it beyond the limites of his owne little world: that his Maiesties wisdom and authoritie might be beneficiall also to the Churches of other Countries, if occasion were offered: and that daily it might be more apparant in the sight of God, and men, that his chiefe care is the preservation of Christian religion. Of late therefore, and about the time when I shewed you his last letters, his Maiestie gaue this great experiment of this his deuout minde: which, as it is most worthilie approued, and commended here of all good and godly men, so, I hope, most illustrious Cardinal, that the know-
ledge

ledge of it will be delightfull to you. When the right Honourable and most reuerend Prelate, the Lord Archbishop of Canterburie his Grace, by letters certified his Maiestie, that there came vnto his hands a booke brought out of some part of Germanie, or the Low Countries, containing doctrine concerning the nature of God, which was new, peruerse, and in some points repugnant to the faith of the Catholike Church; and withall desired his Maiestie that for the repressing of this mischiefe, which was lately sprung vp, hee would shew forth the zeale of the Defendour of the faith, and intercede with the Magistrates of that place where the author liued, desiring of them not to suffer so prodigious doctrine to bee brought into their Churches, and Vniuersities, and that the inuentor of this prophane noueltie might not passe vnpunished: the King, as he came out of coach, after a tedious hunting, as soone as hee had received the letters, and the booke, noted, and markt in sundrie places by that most vigilant Prelate, without any delay thought it a businesse worthie to be taken notice of. And although at that time his bodie was faint with exercise, and fasting, yet what he had begun, he went through at once, as it were with one continuance and heate of endeouour: neither could hee bee entreated by the Nobilitie which stood about him to have any respect of himselfe, vntil after a good long consideration of the whole matter, with the right reuerend Bishop of Lichfield and others of the Clergie, and a perfect vnderstanding thereof, hee most accurately discharged, as much as appertained to him, and as piety commanded. The booke was condemned, and it was determined that all the copies of it should be burnt in *London*, and in both the Vniuersities. Which afterwards was performed. Letters were immediately dispatched (the King himself dictating) vnto his Maiesties Legier there lying, to testifie what was the iudgement of the King, and the Church of England concerning this new doctrine. With all, order was giuen to acquaint the Magistrates with the matter. Let them looke to it, to whom the care of removing that euill doth belong, what account of their delay they can make vnto the immortal God, if (which we hope cannot come to passe) neither of their owne accord, nor after so notable exaiaple, they vndergoe the patronage of the truth with lesse zeale and endeouour then they ought. His Maiestie at the first receiuing of the newes was so mooued, that hee thought hee should commit a grieuous offence, if hee gaue any indulgence to his bodie, before he had fully performed

αλλόκοτον.

formed this office of pietie. I doubt not (most illustrious Cardinall) but you will greatly approue of, and praise this deed. I haue made relation to you of what was done, not to the intent I might commend his Maiestie vnto you, but to let you vnderstand how fast he holdeth the ancient faith, and how stout and earnest a Defendour he is of the opinions of the true Catholike Church, whom notwithstanding most of your Catholikes will not haue to bee accounted and called a Catholike, yea many, not a Christian. His Maiestie at the first thought the strife about those names not to be materiall, whilst he held that which was meant by them, which his Maiestie desires to doe, and fully trusts in the mercie of God he doth. But because the common sort of men doe thus interpret, that to be depriued of such names, is all one as to bee depriued of the things vnderstood by those names: therefore hee doth not thinke it wisdome to take no notice of this wrong. As concerning the name of Christian, there is no strife, no controuersie betwixt you and him. For neither of your Epistles doth deny this title to be due vnto him. The question is then concerning the title of Catholike. For after that, according vnto your excellent eloquence, in your first Epistle you had signified that you acknowledged in the King of Great Britaine the perfect and absolute Idea of the greatest Prince; in the end, you put this exception, if vnto the other gifts of his minde the glorious name of Catholike might bee added: and when, by his Maiesties commandement, it was answered, that that title could not be denied to him, which acknowledged the three Creeds of the Church Catholike, and the foure first generall Councils: and which beleeued all things that were beleeued as necessarie to salvation in the foure first ages: with this answer in your last accurate and subtile letters you appeared not to be so well satisfied. Those letters perswade yourselfe that they were not read hastily, and cursorily, for he read them through, and examined the waight of your reasons with wonderfull equitie, and gentlenes of minde. But, whereas, after the reading of your answer, hee departeth not from his former opinion, and yet neuerthelesse, by the helpe of Gods grace, trusteth he is a true Catholike, his Maiestie would haue you know what reasons he hath for this resolution. Wherefore, most illustrious Cardinall, receiue this short answer to your last letters, which receiuing from his Maiesties owne mouth, I was commanded to comprise in words, and to send vnto you. I will not now request of you, that in the reading of these you would vse
such

such equitie, as hee did in the reading of yours. I know full well your excellent wisdom and moderation worthie of all praise. The whole disputation in your last letters consisteth of two parts. In the former part are brought five reasons which do illustrate and shew the acception of this thesis, in what sense you would have it taken. This thesis: *Catholici appellatio &c. The name of Catholike can be denied to none which admits of the three, namely, the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds: and of the foure first generall Councils, the Nicene, the Constantinopolitane, the Ephesine, and that of Chalcedon: lastly, which beleuees all those things that were thought necessarie to be beleueed to saluation in the first foure ages.* This thesis, in the Kings answer, hath the place of the maior proposition. The second part of your disputation bringeth in foure instances against the hypothesis, or assumption.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The name of Catholike doth not simply signifie faith, but also a communion with the Catholike Church. Therefore the ancients would not have them called Catholikes which departed from the communion of the Church, albeit they retained the same faith. For they said, there was but one Church Catholike, out of which a man might have the faith and Sacraments; but saluation he could not have. To this purpose you bring many things out of S. Augustine.

HIS MAIESTIES ANSWERE.

To beleuee the Catholike Church, and to beleuee the communion of Saints, are set downe in the Apostles Creed distinctly, as two diuers things. And the former of these two articles seemes to be inserted especially, to the end that a difference might bee made betwixt the Iewish Synagogue, and the Christian Church. Which was not to bee confined within the bounds of one nation, as that was, but to be scattered farre and wide thorow all the regions of the world. Wherefore there is no manifest reason, why in the beginning of this obseruation the name of Catholike should be said to signifie communion. Indeed these two are very neere ioyned, but they are two diuers things, as I have shewed. Now his Maestie beleuees vnfainedlie, that there is but one Church of God, truly, and in name Catholike, or vniuersall, diffused ouer the whole world, out of which he affirmeth also that no saluation is to be hoped for. Hee condemneth, and detesteth those which either long since

συγκαταβατικῶς.

τὸ τί ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ.

Iohn 10. 3.

since, or more lately haue either departed from the faith of the Catholike Church, and so become heretikkes, as the Manichies, or from communion, and so haue become schismatikes, as the Donatists: against which two sorts of men chiefly al those things were written by *S. Augustine*, which are brought in this obseruation. Likewise his Maiestie commends the wisdom of those godly Bishops, which in the fourth Councell of Carthage, as is here well obserued, did adde vnto the forme of examination of Bishops, an interrogation concerning this point. Neither is the King ignorant, that ye fathers of the ancient Church did oftentimes many things *by way of condescent, pro bono pacis*, as they vsed to say, that is, for desire of maintaining vnitie, and for feare of breaking mutuall communion. Whose example he professeth himselfe readie also studiously to imitate, and to follow in the steps of those that follow after peace, *ad aras usq;* to the altars, that is, as farre as he may (considering the state of the Church in these daies) with the safetie of a good conscience. For hee is as much grieved as any man, for the distraction of the members of the Church, so much abhorred by the holy Fathers: and as earnestly desireth to communicate, if it were possible, with all that are members of the mysticall bodie of our Lord Iesus Christ. Nevertheless, his Maiestie thinketh that he hath most iust cause to dissent from those, which simply, without any distinction, or exception, doe perpetually vrge this communion. He acknowledgeth it to be very necessarie, and one of the proper notes of the Church: yet doth not account it for the true forme of the Church, and that which the Philosopher calls the essentiall being. His Maiestie hath learned by his reading of the holie Scriptures (according to the minde all ancient fathers) that the true and essentiall forme of the Church is this, that the sheepe of Christ heare the voyce of their shepheard, and that the Sacraments be rightly and lawfully administred, namely as the Apostles haue giuen example, and those which followed neere to the Apostles times. Those Churches which are thus instituted, they must needes be linked together by a manifold communion. They are vnited in Christ their head, who is the fountaine of life, whereby all liue, whom the Father hath chosen to be redeemed by his precious blood, and to be rewarded with eternall life. They are vnited in the vnion of faith, and doctrine, in such chiefe points as are necessarie to saluation. For there is but one sauing doctrine, there is but one way to heauen. They are vnited in coniunction of mindes

of mindes in true charitie, and the duties of charitie, especially of mutuall prayers. Lastly, they are vnited in the communion of one hope, and expectation of promised inheritance; knowing, that before the foundations of the world they were predestinate (I speake of the elect) to be fellow heires, and of the same bodie, and partakers of the promise of God in Christ through the Gospell, as saith the diuine Apostle. Yet his Maiestie addes further, that the same Church, notwithstanding if any member thereof depart from the rule of faith, will more esteeme of the love of truth, then the love of vnitie. He knowes that the supreme lawe in the house of God is the sinceritie of celestially doctrine: which if any man forsake, he forsakes Christ which is Truth itselfe: hee forsakes the Church, which is the pillar and establishment of truth, and by this meanes ceaseth to appertaine vnto the body of Christ. With such Apostataes, a true Catholike neither will nor can communicate: for what concert betwixt Christ and Belial? Wherefore the Church will flie from communion with these, and wil say with Greg. Nazianzen, *that disagreement for godlinesse is better than ill affected concord.* Neither will he doubt, if need be, to say with the same blessed father, that there is a holy contention. Now that such a necessarie separation should sometimes be in the Church, both wee are taught in other places of holie Scripture, and that admonition also of the holie Ghost, not without cause given to the Church, doth openly declare: saying, Goe out of Babylon, my people, lest you communicate with her sinnes. What that Babylon is, where out the people of God are commanded to depart, the King disputes not in this place, nor affirms hee anything concerning it: yet thus much the matter itselfe doth plainly shew, that whether some priuate Church be vnderstood in that place by the name of Babylon, or the greater part of the whole, it was before this a true Church, with which the religious might religiously communicate: but after it was more deprauid, the religious are commanded to goe out, and to breake off communion. Whereby it may be easilie vnderstood, that not all communion with those that be called Christians is to bee desired of the faithfull, but that only which may stand with the integritie of doctrine reuealed from heauen. Now, to come neerer to the purpose, his Maiestie denies those places of S. Augustine to belong at all to him. For he affirms that all those testimonies doe evince this only; that there remains no hope of salvation for them which depart from the faith of the Catholike Church,

Ephes. 3. 6.
σύσσωμοι.

ἀντολήθεια.
1 Tim. 3. 15.

2 Cor. 6. 15.

ἐμπάθοῦς ὁμονίας.
De Pace. Orat. I.
ἱερός πόλεμος.
In Oratione habita in Concil. Constantin.

Apoc. 18. 4.

Matth. 5. 14.

τὴν καθολικὴν ἐπισ-
κοπὴν περιεῖσθαι.

Church, or from communion with the same Church. Which thing (as I said before) the King willingly grants. But here his Maiestic desires of you (most illustrious Cardinall) that you would call to minde, and perpend, what great difference there is betwixt the times of S. Augustine, and these of ours. How much the Church now called Catholike differs from the ancient; how the face of the Church is changed, and the outward forme, to say nothing of the inward. For then the Church Catholike was like a citie seated upon an hill, which, as Christ saith, cannot be hid, knowne to all, conspicuous and certaine, whereof no sound minde could make question. Which was not (as the foolish Donatists prated) lying I know not where, in the South, driuen into some corner of the world, but diffused farre and wide thorow the whole earth flourishing vnder the Emperours, whose dominion extended from the East to the West, and from North to South. You might see the Bishops of the East and West daily communicating, and when need required assisting one another. For that which is written in the Constitutions of *Clement*, that the Catholike Church is the charge of all the Bishops, and by that meanes that every one is an Oecumenicall Bishop, we wonder now when we reade it, neither can wee beleve it, which then daily practise did shew to be most true, and may easily be demonstrated out of historie, by infinit examples. There were then also in frequent vse *literae formatae*, that is, demissarie or testimoniall letters; by commerce whereof, and as it were by tokens, communion was held amongst the members of the Church, although farre remoued by distance of place. Furthermore when it stood in neede, they had Councils truly Oecumenicall, not, as since we have scene; Oecumenicall in name only, but indeed assembled out of some Prouinces of Europe. And in those ancient times this was the fastest bond, whereby all the members of the Catholike Church were knit together into the ioynture of one bodie; which bodie was for that cause very eminent, conspicuous, and in the faire view of all, which no man could chuse but know. There was one faith, one state, one body Catholike, frequent mutual visitation, wonderfull consent of all the members, a wonderfull sympathie. Was any man lapsed by heresie, or schisme from the communion of any one Church: I speake not of any one of the chiefe, which were the seates of the foure Patriarchs: but of any one much smaller? that man as soone as it was knowne, was held to be excluded from the communion of the whole Catholike Church.

For

For whereas wee meete with some examples obserued to the contrarye, that was not right, but vsurpation. Was any man bold to corrupt the truth a little, by being of another opinion? it was easie even for a child to deprehend him. Wherefore such a steale-trueth being once discovered, all the shepheards of the whole world, if need was, were raised, and were neuer quiet vntill they had rooted out this euill, and provided for the securitie of Christs sheepe. By these signes and markes the Church at that time was conspicuous: but this happinesse continued not many ages. For, after that the Empire was ouerturned, and the forme of the Commonwealth altered, there sprung vp many new States, differing as well in manners and language, as in ordinances, and lawes. Then vpon the distraction of the Empire followed the distraction of the Catholike Church: and by little and little all those things ceased, which had been before of singular vse for the preservation of vnion and communion in the outward Catholike bodie of the Church. From that time the Catholike Church hath not ceased to be, for it shall continue euer, neither shall the gates of hell at any time preuaile against it, seeing it is founded vpon Christ the true rock, and vpon the faith of *Peter* and the rest of the Apostles; but it began to be lesse manifest, being diuided into many parts, which, as touching externall communion, were quite separated from one another. Then (which is chiefly to be lamented) it came to passe by this dissipation, that there was lesse strength in the parts, then before in the whole bodie to resist the enemye of mankind, who is readie at all times, as our Sauour teacheth, to scatter tares amongst the good seede. And considering, in these times wee see with our eyes that this is come to passe, and it is so grosse that wee may almost grope it with our hands, it is ridiculous, and most absurd to dispute whether this thing could heretofore happen, or hath now happened. Therefore the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, the Church of Antioch, and of Ægypt, the Abyssine, the Moscouite and many others, are members much excelling each other in sinceritie of doctrine, and faith: yet all members of the Catholike Church, whose ioynture, in regard of the outward forme was long since broken. For which cause his Maiestie doth much wonder, when hee considers how some Churches, which heretofore were but members of the bodie once entire, doe now ingrosse all the right of the whole, and appropriate to themselves the name of Catholike: excluding from their communion, and affirming boldly, that they belong not to the
Catholike

ἐκτεροδοξῶντα.

περιόσων.

ὁὖτος πέπνυσθαι
τοῖς δὲ σκιῶς αἰσ-
σεῖν.

παρασπράξεις.

ἀμφισβητήσιμος.

κριτήρια.

Catholike Church, whosoever do dissent from them in anything, or refuse the yoke of their bondage. Neither do you only challenge to your selues this right: there are others that do the same. For, (his Maiestie speakes it with griefe) there are at this day many priuate Churches, which beleene that they onely are the people peculiar, which they call the Church. Giue them that strength which the Church of Rome hath, and they shall doe the same with her, and pronounce of all others as hardly as she doth. What shall wee say? are there not sundrie sects now adaies, which are certainly perswaded that they only haue insight into the Scriptures, and, (as the Poet saith) that they only are wise, that all others walke like shadowes? It is true, indeed, that in every age there were conuenticles of sectaries, and *dissemblies*, which did boast themselves of the Catholike Church, and by this pronocation did allure many vnto them: but it is the peculiar and famous calamitie of these latter times, that the Catholike Church, vnto which of necessitie a man must adhere, either really, and actually, or at the least in will, and vow, is become lesse manifest then it was of old, lesse exposed to the eyes of men, more questionable and doubtfull. For which cause his excellent Maiestie thinketh that he ought more carefully in such a deluge of variable opinions to be-take himselfe to the mountaines of the sacred Scripture: and as S. *Augustine* gaue counsell to the Donatists to seeke the Church of Christ in the words of Christ. And so S. *Chrysostome*, both elsewhere, and of purpose in his 33. Homilie vpon the Acts of the Apostles, handling the question, *How the true Church might be discerned amongst many Societies which challenge to themselves that name*: teacheth that there be two meanes of deciding that question: first, *the word of God*, and secondly, *antiquitie of doctrine*, not inuented by any new author, but alwaies knowne from the birth, and beginning of the Church. These two trials the King, and Church of England embracing, doe auouch that they acknowledge that doctrine onely for true, and necessarie to saluation, which flowing from the fountaine of sacred Scripture, through the consent of the ancient Church, as it were a conduit hath been deriued vnto these times. Wherefore to make an end of this *observation*, his Maiestie answers, that it is faultie many waies, and cannot stand with the hypothesis propounded. Because (saith he) the Church of England is so farre from forsaking the ancient Catholike Church, which she doth reuerence, and admire: that she departeth not from the
faith

faith of the Church of Rome, in any point wherein that Church agreeth with the ancient Catholike. If you question the succession of persons, behold the names of our Bishops, and their continuance from the first without any interruption: if the succession of doctrine, come, make triall: let us have a free Councell which may not depend vpon the will of one. The Church of England is readie to render an account of her faith, and by demonstration to euince, that the authors of the reformation here, had no purpose to erect any new Church, (as the ignorant and malicious do cauilt) but to repaire the ruines of the old, according to the best forme: and in their iudgement that is best which was delivered by the Apostles to the Primitiue Church, and hath continued in the ages next ensuing. His Maiestie grants, that his Church hath departed from many points of that doctrine, and discipline which the Pope of Rome now stiffly defendeth: but they doe not thinke this to be a revolting from the Catholike Church, but rather a returning to the ancient Catholike faith, which in the Romane Church by new deuices hath been manifoldly, and strangely deformed; and so a conversion to Christ the sole Master of his Church. Wherefore if any man grounding vpon the doctrine of this *obseruation*, will inferre from it, that the Church of England, because it reiects some ordinances of the Romane, hath therefore departed from the ancient Catholike Church: his Maiestie will not grant him this, vntill he prooue by sound reasons, that all things taught by them of Rome, especially those which they will have to be belceued as necessarie to saluation, were allowed of from the beginning, and established by the ancient Catholike Church. Now, that no man can euer doe this, at least neuer yet hath done it, his Maiestie, and the reuerend Bishops of the English Church, doe hold it to be as cleere as when the Sunne shineth at midday. Lastly, his Maiestie thinketh it a great offence to forsake the Church, but hee vtterly denieth that hee, or his Church are guiltie of this crime. For, saith his Maiestie, we depart not voluntarily, but we are driven away. And your Honour well knoweth how many, and how excellently learned and godly men, for these five hundred yeeres at the least, haue wished the reformation of the Church, both in the head, and members. What grievous complaints haue been often heard of worthie Kings and Princes, lamenting the estate of the Church in their times? But what auailed it? for vnto this day we see not any one thing amended of all those which were thought most needfull of reformation.

*Non fugimus, sed
fugamur.*

mation. Wherefore the Church of England in this separation feareth not any fellowship with the Donatists, if the matter be debated by ingenuous men. They willingly and without cause left the Catholike Church, which at that time the consent of all nations did approue, whose doctrine or discipline they could not blame: but England being enforced by great necessitie, separated herselfe from that Church, which innumerable Christian people did not grant to be the true Catholike, and vniuersall Church: nay more, which many of your owne writers haue heretofore ingenuously confessed to haue varied much from the ancient Church in matters of faith, and discipline; to haue patched many new things to the old, and euill to the good: which indeed, is now better knowne to the vniuersall world, then that any man can denie, or be ignorant of it. Furthermore, the Church of England for some ages past had felt the yoke of the Romane servitude so cruell, being afflicted with their often new vexations, and incredible exactions, that if there were no other cause, yet that alone might suffice before equall iudges to free them from the suspicion of schisme, and as *S. Augustine* speakes of the Donatists, *inique discissionis*, of an vniust rent, or distraction from the Church. For the English did not depart from brotherly charitie vpon a humour, as the Donatists did, nor, as the tenne tribes of the Iewes, for feare of imminent euill: but after the patience of many ages, after unspeakable miseries, at length they withdrew their necks, and shaked off the intollerable burthen, which neither were they able longer, nor would their conscience suffer them to beare. Besides this, the ancient Church, to the end that she might draw the refractarie Donatists to communion, was wont with admirable charitie to prouide for the temporall commodities of the Bishops, and others that were reconciled: but the Church of Rome (being desirous of amitie with England) what doth she? first, thunders out her Bulls, then vseth violence, open, and secret: then receiue into her bosome, and still cherisheth detestable traytors, euidently condemned of plotting the desolation of their Countie: lastly, numbred amongst Martyrs those which suffered for the same crimes, and daily defendeth their innocencie against all lawes both diuine and humane. Cardinal *Bellarmino* himselfe (I am loth to speake, but I speake the truth) is become a principall patrone of these parricides: who of late also, (that he might draw on his Maiestie) hath vsed this argument of wondrous efficacie to perswade; that the kingdome of England belongeth

ἐκ τῆς ἀποστολῆς
ἀποφ.

belongeth to the Pope, and that his Maiestie of England even in temporalties is his subiect, and holdeth his kingdome of him. I omit other griuances of the King and Church of England both ancient and moderne, which are not to be rehearsed in this place.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Besides those that are necessarie to Salvation, there are two kind of things, which the ancient Church beleued: whereof one is, things profitable to saluation, the other, things lawfull, and not repugnant to the same. Therefore if a man will embrace the faith of the ancients, he must also embrace those things, and esteeme them as the ancient Church did.

HIS MAIESTIES ANSWER.

Those things which were held by the holy Fathers, as not absolutely necessarie to saluation; but only profitable, or lawfull, they ought to be esteemed little more then indifferent. For the vse of them being as things not simple necessarie, in the beginning was free. In such things therefore to devise any necessitie at all, it seemes vnjust: for by and by there will follow a necessitie of vsing them: as wee see it is come to passe in the Church of Rome: which obserues at this day many things as simple necessarie to the integritie of faith, which the ancient Church scarce knew, much lesse vsed as matters of necessitie. I will alledge foure examples of many. It is manifest that in the primitiue Church confession of sinnes was vsed, but farre otherwaies then now. For, that auricular confession in that manner which you haue it was in vse in the primitiue ages, I think, no man will affirme. His Maiestie grants that the Fathers which did first ordaine it, had their reasons why they thought that such manner of confession would further the easier attaining vnto saluation: but they held it not for a thing necessarie absolutely, much lesse for a Sacrament: or at least not all the Fathers thought so. For as touching S. *Chrysostome*, it is plaine that hee required not of his people auricular confession. But the matter is now come to that passe, that there is little lesse attributed to this confession, then to the precious blood of Christ, whereby wee are redeemed: the absolute necessitie thereof is so precisely vrged. Whence by little grew vp that doctrine in the Church of Rome, of not disclosing the secret of confession vpon any occasion soeuer. For, because they beleued that it was im-
possible

possible without this confession to attaine vnto the haue of saluation, therefore they thought it necessarie to remoue all impediments that might hinder it. Wherefore in time this doctrine bath proceeded so farre, that now to murder Kings, or suffer them to be murdered, seemes to be no sinne, in comparison of breaking the seale of confession: which many of your Diuines, especially the expounders of the Canon Law haue in their bookes published. Morcouer, *Binetus* a Iesuite, did anouch as much to me at Paris, in the same tearmes, which I remember yet I told you afterwards. We know also, neither perhaps is your Honor ignorant of it, yt there is another Iesuit in France, which of late was bold to say, That if our Lord Iesus Christ were liuing vpon the earth, subiect to death, and some man had told him in confession, that he would kill him, notwithstanding, rather then he would reueale that confession, he would suffer (I tremble to speake it) Christ Iesus himselfe to be murdered. Which horrible blasphemie you see whence it tooke the originall. In like manner, abstinence from wine, and daintie cheare, set times of fasting, xerophagiae, or, eating drie meates, the ancient Church reckoned amongst such things as were profitable to the easier obtaining of saluation: neither doth his Maiestie denie it, giuing a conuenient interpretation according to the intention of the primitive Church: but, by your leaue, he liketh not that the obseruation of these things should be more strictly required, then of such as are expressly contained in holy Writ. Againe, single life in the Ministers of the Church, was in old time commended, but now it is commanded, and exacted as a matter of absolute necessitie: whereof you shall heare more hereafter. So, whereas *S. Paul* saith, that hee doth afflict his bodie, and make it seruiceable, his Maiestie honours, and calls them blessed that follow this example of the diuine Apostle: but he detesteth those which reckon sackcloth, and Lacedemonian whippings, and such vexations of bodie, or, as they call them, satisfactions, amongst the causes of saluation: or at least so highly prize them, that they make account of slouenrie, and whatsoever nastines, as of sanctimonial perfection. But of al such his Maiestie doth especially abhorre them, which after the manner of the priests of *Baal*, rending their bodies with scourges, would make vs imagine God to be desirous, and thirstie for mans blood, like *Bellona* the Pagan Goddesse. Only, he commends their wisdom, which hiring others to be whipped for them, doe purchase the merit of those

1 Cor. 9. 27.

Laconicas
διαμαστιγώσων.

those punishments which they haue suffered. So, it commeth to passe, that the rich offend, and the poore are punished: that penaltie pursueth not the guiltie, but him that is in pouertie and want. Wherefore, his Maiestie, as hee thinketh it vnlawfull to condemne those things which the Fathers of the first age by vnanimitie of consent did hold for things expedient, or lawfull: so he cannot endure to be bound with any peremptorie necessitie of vsing the same. For he holdeth *Necessarie* and *Indifferent* to be of a contrarie nature. But of these more largely in the *Observation* following.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Seeing in the matter of religion there is more then one kinde of necessitie, we must take heed when we speake of things necessarie to saluation, that we be not deceiued with the ambiguities of the tearme. For there is necessitie absolute, and vpon condition: a necessitie of the meane, and of the precept. There is also a necessitie of beleeuing, which bindeth all Christians without exception, and another which doth not generally binde all. Lastly, there is a necessitie of action, and a necessitie of approbation.

HIS MAIESTIES ANSWERE.

THE doctrine in this *Observation*, wherein the diuers kinds of necessitie are learnedly, and very accurately declared, his excellent Maiestie is so farre from disliking, that on the contrarie, he thinketh, if these distinctions be taken away, a manifold confusion would follow in matters of religion. For what can be thought more dangerous then that things absolutely necessarie should be held as necessarie only vpon condition, or contrariwise? and that other distinction which seemeth for the right, and orderly disposition of all things in the house of God, is no lesse profitable. Likewise, in your examples, his Maiesty obserueth nothing greatly to be disallowed. But in your explication of things absolutely necessarie, hee commendeth the truth of that speech: that there is no great number of those things which be absolutely necessarie to saluation. Wherefore his Maiestie thinketh that there is no more compendious way to the making of peace, then that things necessarie should be diligently separated from things not necessarie: that all endeauours might be spent about the agreement in the necessarie, and as touching the not necessarie, that a Christian libertie might bee granted. Simply necessarie, his Maiestie calleth those

those things, which the word of God expressly chargeth to be beleueed, or practised: or which the ancient Church by necessarie consequence, hath drawne out of the word of God. But such things, which out of the institution of men, although with a religious, and wise intent, yet besides the word of God, were receiued, and vsed of the Church for a time, those he thinketh may be changed, or relaxed, or abolished. And as Pope *Pius* the second said of the single life of the Clergie, *that there was good right in times past to ordaine it, but now there is better to disannull it*: his Maiestie thinkes that the same speech may be vsed in generall of the most Ecclesiasticall obseruations, which are brought into the Church without any precept of Gods word. If this distinction were vsed for the deciding of the controuersies of these times, and if men would ingenuously make a difference betwixt diuine, and positiue law, it seems that amongst godly and moderate men, touching things absolutely necessarie, there would bee no long, or bitter contention. For both (as I said euen now) they are not many, and they are almost equally allowed of by all which challenge the name of Christian. And his excellent Maiestie doth hold this distinction to be of such moment for the diminishing of controuersies, which at this time doe so vexe the Church of God, that he iudgeth it the dutie of all such as bee studious of peace, diligently to expone it, to teach it, to vrge it. Now will we addresse ourselves to speak of some examples which are proposed in this Obseruation. Amongst the things absolutely necessarie, yet not simply, but in respect of diuine institution, you reckon the baptisme of infants, which *wee* (say you) *doe referre vnto this kinde of necessitie*. Afterwards you bring a place out of *S. Augustine*, wherein the possibilitie of saluation of children not baptised is precisely denied. Here, first, his Maiestie professeth that himself and the Church of England doe allow the necessitie of baptisme, in respect of diuine institution, as wel as you. The Church of England doth not binde the grace of God to the meanes, which is contrarie euen to the doctrine of the better sort of schoolmen: yet because God hath appointed this for the ordinarie way to obtaine remission of sins in his Church, and Christ himselfe denieth the entrance into the Kingdom of heauen to those which are not borne againe of water and the Spirit: therefore it is carefully provided heere by the Ecclesiasticall lawes, that parents may haue baptisme for their children at any time, or place. Wherefore, that which *Tertullian* saith of the

Joh. 3. 5.

the primitiue Church, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons did baptise: and lastly, that the same was lawfull for laymen also in case of extreame necessitie; the same, as concerning Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, is at this day practised in the Church of England, without any rigid or inuiolable obseruation of whatsoeuer time or place. But for the baptisme of laymen or women, as by the lawes of the Church it is forbidden to be done; so being done according to the lawfull forme, in a manner it is not disallowed, the Church pronouncing it to be baptisme, although not lawfully administred. But his excellent Maiesty doth so highly esteeme of this Sacrament, that when some Ministers in Scotland, pretending I know not what ordinances of new discipline, refused, vpon the desire of the parents, to baptise infants readie to die, he compelled them to this dutie with feare of punishment, threatning no lesse then death if they disobeyed. Wherefore the words of *S. Augustine*, which doe precisely exclude the not baptised from eternall life, if they be vnderstood of the ordinary way thither, and the only way that Christ hath taught vs, his Maiestie hath nothing to obiect against that opinion: but if it be simply denied that almightie God can saue those which die *unbaptised*, his Maiestie, and the Church of England abhorring the crueltie of that opinion, doe affirme that *S. Augustine* was an vnnaturall and hard father vnto infants. Vndoubtedly his Maiestie thinketh, that both these extreames are with the like care to be eschewed: lest if wee embrace this rigid sentence, we abbreviate the power of God, and offer wrong to his infinit goodnesse: or, whilest, as some doe, we reckon baptisme amongst such things, the hauing, or forgoing whereof is not much materiall, wee should seeme to make light of so precious a Sacrament and holy ordinance of God. *S. Augustine* was a worthie man, of admirable pietie, and learning, yet his private opinions his Maiestie alloweth not as articles of faith, neither doe you allow them; for example, Saint *Augustine* beleened, as did *Innocentius* the first before him, that the receiuing of the blessed Eucharist by infants was no lesse necessarie to their saluation then baptisme, and this he auoucheth in many places of his writings: yet you beleue it not, neither hath the Church of *England* changed this point of doctrine which she received from you. Amongst those things which impose *necessitie of action* vpon some persons, you number mariage. *Si quis sobolem tollere voluerit*: If any man say you desire to haue issue. Again, soone after, when you declare the

necessitie

ἀφωτίστους.

ἄστοργος.

1 Cor. 7. 9.

ἀπερ ἀρρήτα
ἀμεῖνο

necessitie of approbation, you reckon the choice of liuing in virgin-
itie or single life: which things when his Maiestie read, he disal-
lowed them not, yet he thought that vnto both examples, some-
thing might conueniently be added: for vpon the former it seemes
to follow, that there is no other necessarie cause of mariage, saue
hope of issue. But the Apostle *S. Paul* doth teach vs in expresse
tearmes, that they also are bound to prouide for mariage which
want the gift of continence. If they containe not, saith he, let
them marrie. This addition is of no small moment. For who
knoweth not what occasion is daily ministred in the Church of
Rome, of many and horrible crimes, through the contempt of
this Apostolike rule, through the neglect of this necessarie remedie?
Wherefore in continent persons his Maiestie exceedingly commend-
eth the liuing in the estate of virginitie, or single life: and being
by the singular mercie of God more familiarly acquainted with
the sacred scripture, then most Princes are, hee knoweth *S. Pauls*
sentence of the whole matter, and the examples extant in both
Testaments, and the rewards proposed to them that containe. But
whereas your Diuines doe commonly teach, especially the Doctors
of the Canon Law, that fornication, whoredome, and other foule
sinnes not to be named, are more tollerable in Ministers of the
Church, then lawfull mariage, and the bed vndefiled: that his
Maiestie accounteth a most detestable crime, and most worthe of
the hatred of God, and men. His Maiestie opposeth against all the
cauils of Sophisters, yea against all humane authoritie whatsoever,
that oracle, of the holy Spirit, pronounced by the mouth of the
Apostle; *It is better to marrie then to burne*. For as a wise Cap-
taine ought to be more afraid of receiuing ouerthrow, or losse to
himself, then of weakning his enemy: so in the election of a mans
life, whether he would lead it married, or single, his Maiestie
thinks that godly men ought in the first place to decline the trans-
gression of Gods law, and then on Gods name, if any man haue the
power, let him vse that benefit of nature. It is a thredbare cauill,
that England is not a lawfull Church, because here wanteth the
practise of such vowes. But what can the want of vōw hinder, as
long as wee are not destitute of that which is vowed? For here
are many Bishops, and other Pastors of the Church, who without
ostentation of vow do abstaine from mariage, and yet leade their
liues chastly and saintly, without any taint of common sinister re-
port. Moreouer, for the Monasteries themselves, his Maiestie (as
he

he is most earnestly affected vnto pietie and goodnesse) would not haue dissolued them, or not all of them, (as I haue heard him often protest) if he had found them vncorrupted, and obseruing the Canons of their first institution. But his excellent Maiestie often wisheth that the Tridentine Fathers, which could not bee drawne by the entreaties of great Kings and Princees to provide for publike honestie on this behalfe, would consider with themselves, from what fountaine this doctrine did flow. For whereas at the first, single life was placed amongst profitable orders, and counsels: afterwards vowes were annexed, at length men came to this absolute necessitie, which now reigneth amongst you, the law of God being abandoned, and most vilely disgraced. Now whereas in the end of this obseruation it is added, that they which allow of some, and reiect other of those things which the ancient Church beleueed as necessarie to saluation, although vnder diuers kinds of necessitie, haue no reason to affirme that they retaine the same faith and discipline with the ancient Catholike Church: his Maiestie well enough perceineth the drift of that speech. He answereth therefore, that he wil not extol his own Church, by comparing it to a glasse without spot, or to a face perfectly faire without wrinkle, or blemish: he leaueth such Pharasaisme to others. Yet that this he knoweth euidently, that if question be made concerning the essentiall markes of the Church, or if you looke at those things which are plainly necessarie to salvation, or respect order, and decencie in the Church; you shall not finde a Church in the whole world (God be praised for it) more approaching to the faith, and fashion of the ancient Catholike. His Maiestie excepts none, no not the Church of Rome: which by new inuentions deuised for increase of superstition, and for establishing of her dominion ouer Princees, and people, hath manifestly turned, and changed the faith, and discipline of the ancient Catholike, and swarued infinitely in many things from the puritie and simplicitie of the primitiue Church.

THE FOURTH OBSERVATION.

WHEN question is made touching the faith of the ancient Church, there be some which doe limit antiquitie within one or two ages after the Church was founded: but it standeth with equitie for examination of the controuersies of these daies to insist vpon that time, wherein all parties grant that the Church was not only a true Church, but then also most flourishing, and possessed of that glory and brightnes, which

which the oracles of so many Prophets had promised. And that is the time wherein the foure first generall Councils are included, from Constantine the Emperour vnto Marcion. And there is the more equitie in this, because there be so few monuments extant of the former ages, but very many of this time wherein the Church florished. So that the faith, and discipline of the ancient Catholike may easily be knowne out of the writings of the Fathers of that age.

HIS MAIESTIES ANSWERE.

THIS condition will seeme vnreasonable to them which would haue the vniuersall historie of the primitiue Church, concluded within the Acts of the Apostles, which is but one little, though most sacred and diuine book. The most equall and prudent King is farre from this opinion: who in his Monitorie Epistle hath ingenuously declared how highly he esteemeth of the Fathers, which liued in the fourth, and fifth age. Neither doth his Maiestie doubt to pronounce with *S. August.* that look what the Church hath duly obserued from her first originall vnto those times, and for any man to offer to reiect that as impious, *it is a point of most insolent madnes.* For his Maiestie heretofore hath unfainedly protested, that he approueth of those markes of truth given by *Vincentius Lirinensis: à principio, vbiq; et semper:* that is, from the beginning, euerywhere, and euer. Wherefore, the King, and the Church of England, in that they admit of the foure first generall Councils, therein they sufficiently declare that they conclude not the time of the true, and lawfull Church within the compasse of one, or two ages: but that they extend it much further, comprising the time of *Marcion* the Emperour, vnder whom the Council of Chalcedon was kept. But whereas in this obseruation you more esteeme the times after *Constantine*, then the times going before, that his Maiestie thinketh somewhat strange, and indeed doth not allow it. He granteth that the Church of the fourth age florished aboue the former in externall glorie, and splendure, in wealth, and plentie of learned men: but that the Church of the former ages was equal with it, or excelled as touching the orthodoxall rightnesse of faith, and sincerltie of incorrupt discipline, he is perswaded that none can make any doubt. We finde euery where in the holy Fathers of the fourth age, *Basil, Nazianzen, Ieroma, Chrysostome, Augustine,* and others, most grieuous complaints of the faults and sundrie deprauations of their Churches. Neither can it be doubted, that the further men liued from the first originall, the further also they departed from

from the originall puritie, and sinceritie. Wherefore when there is a serious purpose to cleanse, and to sweepe the house of God, why should not an especiall regard bee had to the time of the Apostles, or the times neere the time of the Apostles? It is true indeed, that for the greatest part of that time the godly Christians did liue in obscuritie, in pouertie, and miserie, by reason of perpetuall persecution: yet consider well, if in this sense also it be not better to goe into the house of mourning, then into the house of mirth. Pouertie and miserie are called the sisters of good minde: riches, and glorie haue not that honourable report. And although many of the writers of those times be lost, yet some are extant, and those worthie of regard. *S. Cyprian*, that holy Martyr of Christ, he alone, if there were none else, can better informe vs in the gouernment and discipline of the primitiue Church, then many others which liued in the fourth age. Wherefore the summe of his Maiesties answere vnto this *observation*, is: that he is well content there should be arguments brought out of the writings of the Fathers of the fourth, and fifth ages; but with this caution, and condition, that those things be allowed for ancient and necessarie to saluation, which had not their beginning then, but which may be cleerely proued to haue been continually obserued from the first originall of the Church vntill those times.

Eccles. 7. 3.

THE FIFTH OBSERVATION.

WHEN there is question made about the *unanimitie*, and *consent* of Fathers, some will haue it then to bee manifest, when the matter controuerted is found in all the Fathers in expresse termes: whose opinion being manifestly enuust, it is more equitie for knowledge of consent of Fathers, that these two rules be vsed. First, that the consent of Fathers should then be thought to be sufficiently proued, when the worthiest of every nation do consent in the cuerring of anything, and that no man accounted orthodoxall doth oppose them. So *S. Augustine* when he had praised eleven of the principall writers of former times; and the Fathers of the Ephesine Councell, when they had brought out ten against Nestorius, they all thought that they had giuen sufficient testimonie concerning the consent of the ancient Church. The second rule is this: When the Fathers do not speake as Doctors, nor say that this, or that is thus to be done, or thus to bee beleeued: but when as witnesses of those things which the vniuersalle Church of their times beleued or practised, they affirme this to be the faith or practise of that

Catholike

Catholike Church through the whole world: then they are so much to be honoured, that such an affirmation must be held sufficient to proue the unanimitie and consent of the Church.

HIS MAIESTIES ANSWERE.

IT is an equall demand, that the parties which contend in these times should consent and agree, how they may vse profitably the authoritie of the ancient Fathers. For if the testimonie and authoritie of the primitiue Church bee taken away, his Maiestie freely confesseth, that on mans part, the controuersies of these times can neuer haue an end, nor by any disputation be determined. Wherefore that it may be agreed vpon what and how much is to bee attributed to the Fathers, and how farre their authoritie is to take place, it will not be amisse that certaine rules be composed by the mutuall consent of the parties, prescribing the manner hereof. Amongst many other profitable and necessarie rules for this purpose, his Maiestie thinketh that these two which you haue noted, may haue their place. But because the controuersies of these daies are not about ceremonies, and other matters of lighter moment, but about some articles of faith, and opinions appertaining to saluation: therefore his iudgement is that about all there be a generall agreement vpon this rule, that opinions concerning matters of faith, and whatsoever should be beleeued as necessarie to saluation, ought to bee taken out of the sacred Scripture alone, neither must they depend vpon the authoritie of any mortall man, but vpon the word of God only, wherein hee hath declared his will vnto vs by his holy Spirit. Because the Fathers, and the ancient Church had authoritie of deducting articles out of the sacred Scriptures, and explaining, but of coyning new articles of their owne they had no authoritie. This foundation being laid, both, the maiestie of the Scriptures inspired by God shal remaine inuiolated, and that reuerence shall be giuen to the holie Fathers which is due. That this was the minde of all the Doctors of the ancient Church, it may be easilie demonstrated out of their owne writings. For what words more frequent in their workes then these? *That the doctrine which is taught in the Church of God, ought to bee taken out of the word of God.* And these: *For controuersies in matters of religion let the Scripture be iudge.* Or who knoweth not the golden words of S. Basil the Great, in his booke *De Fide*? *It is a manifest fall from faith, and argument of presumption to reiect anything of the written word, or to bring in anything which is*
not

τὸ κατ' ἀνθρώπους.

θεόπνευστος γράφη.

ὅτι δεῖ διδάσκειν ἐκ
τῶν γραφῶν.

ἢ θεόπνευστος ἡμῶν
διατηρώτω γραφή.

φανερὸν ἔκπτωσιν
πίστεως.

not written, seeing it is the speech of our Lord Iesus Christ, My sheepe heare my voyce. And thus much be spoken concerning the obseruations proposed.

Now follow the foure *instances*. For your illustrious honour being come to the hypothesis, to the end that you might euince that his excellent Maiestie doth not belecue those things which the Catholike Church did anciently beleene, you goe about to demonstrate it by foure arguments, drawne from such things as concerne the outward worship of God, or the liturgie and matters of daily practise in religion: and afterwards you giue this reason, why especially you bring these instances, because if there were agreement concerning these, the rest would bee easily agreed vpon. His excellent Maiestie (most illustrious Cardinall) could wish that this might be hoped for: but considering with himselfe what it is which at this day is vrged by your writers with chiefe care, and eager contention: there appeares no great hope of peace, no not if there were agreement about these foure heads which you haue proposed. For now adades, there is as eager contention about the Empire of the Bishop of Rome, as for these or any other points of Christian religion. This alone is now made the article of faith whereon all the rest doe depend. Wherefore what hope remains but in the goodness, and mercie of God, to whom only it belongeth of right to cure the maladies of his Church? in him let vs hope, though against hope, *he will effect it.* To returne to the purpose, the *Instances* which you bring against the Liturgie of the English Church, they be these.

*Quatuor
propositi.*

*quatuor
propositi.*

1. *They belecue not the reall presence of Christ in the sacred Eucharist.*
2. *They reject the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Christian Church.*
3. *They pray not for the dead.*
4. *They condemne the inuocation of Saints which are in heauen.*

Vnto these foure his Maiestie answereth in few words.

To the first Instance concerning reall presence.

IF in the sacred mysteries of the Christian religion, the faithfull should bee thought to beleue nothing but that, which they perfitly vnderstand according to the manner, then surely they would be found to be vbeleueing in many things, which now they doubt not but that they do most firmly beleue. That Christ our Lord
is the

τὸ ὅπως.
τοῦ τρόπου.

ἀκούειν γέννησιν.

is the Sonne of God the Father, begotten of the Father before all worlds: that the same Christ being very God, did assume humane flesh in the wombe of the blessed Virgin: that hee was borne of her without any violation of the virginitie of this mother: that the diuine nature is vnited in the same person with the humane: these things, I say, and the like, all Christians doe make profession to belecue: of whom notwithstanding if you demaund the manner how they are done, they will answere that faith in matters of Theologic is one thing, and humane science is another: and they will religiouslie alleage *Galen*, who otherwaies is no good Master of religion: whose excellent words in his 15. booke *De usu partium*, are these: *How this was done, if you enquire, you will be taken for one that hath no vnderstanding neither of your owne infirmitie, nor of the power of the Creator.* And as for the Fathers, how often they dehort vs from this question of the *manner*, and from curiositie of explaining the manner in diuine mysteries, I should be too long if I should goe about to rehearse. You know the words of *Gregorie Nazianzene* in his first oration, *De Theologia*: *You heare the generation of the Sonne, be not curious to know the manner.* You heare that the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father, be not busie to enquire how: and the same author in another place: *Let the generation of God be honored with silence: it is much for thee to haue learned that hee was begotten, as for the manner how, wee grant it not to be understood by the Angels, much less by thee.* *Gregorie* had to deale with the *Arrians*, those peruerse heretikes, whose impious curiositie he goeth not about to satisfie with subtiltie of disputation, but forbiddeth them to search into the manner of so great a myserie, and enioyneth them silence. Now if his Maiestie, and the Church of England doe vse this godly moderation about the myserie of the sacred Eucharist, I pray you who ought to enuie it? We reade in the Gospels that our Lord instituting this Sacrament, tooke the bread, and said, *This is my body*: but that our Lord did so much as by one word explaine how it was his bodie, wee do not reade. The Church of England doth religiously belecue that which she reades, and with the same religion she is not inquisitiue into that which she reades not. They acknowledge, and teach that this is a great myserie which cannot be comprehended, much lesse declared by the facultie of mans wit: but concerning the power and efficacie of it, their opinion is with all sacred reuerence. They command those which come vnto this holie table diligently to search

search all the secret corners of their consciences: to make confession of their sinnes vnto God, and if need be to the Priest also. They carefully warne the commers that they compose their mindes vnto all humilitie, and deuotion: they receiue the Communion of the bodie of Christ vpon their knees: and they do not onely diuide the mysticall bread amongst the faithfull in their publike assemblies, but they giue it also to those which be towards death, *pro viatico*; that is, for victuals in their iourney, as the Fathers of the Nicene Councell, and all antiquitie doe call it. Lastly, his Maiestie, although he would haue his to abstaine from all manner of curiositie, yet alloweth also of whatsoeuer the holie Fathers of the first ages haue spoken in the honour of that vnspeakable mysterie. Neither doth he reiect the words of the Fathers, as *transmutation*, *alteration*, *traselementation*, and such like, if they be vnderstood and expounded agreeably to their intention. If this doctrine of his Maiestie, and the Church of England doe not giue you satisfaction, then what remaines but that hee yeeld vnto the opinion of Transubstantiation, if he will be friends with you? But that is not piously to belecue the veritie of the thing, but with importunate curiositie to decree the manner thereof: which the King and his Church will neuer doe, will neuer allow. But his excellent Maies- tie wondreth, that whereas your Honour granteth that you require not *primarily* the beleueing of Transubstantiation, but that there be no doubt of the truth of the presence, yet the Church of Eng- land hath not satisfied you in this point, which in publike writings hath so often auouched her beleefe hereof. Wherefore that you may certainly know what is beleueed, and what is taught in this Church concerning that matter, I haue heere set down a whole place out of the right reuerend the Lord Bishop of Ely his booke against Cardinall *Bellarmino*, which some few moneths agoe he published. Thus he saith in the first chapter: *Our Saviour Christ said, this is my bodie, not, after this manner is my bodie: whereof the Cardinall is not ignorant vnlesse willingly and wittingly. We agree with you concerning the object, all the strife is about the manner. Concerning this is, wee beleuee firmly that it is: concerning after this manner it is, to wit, that the bread is transubstantiate into his bodie, after what manner it is done, whether by, or in, or vnder, or beyond, there is not a word in the Gospell: and because there is no word; therefore we haue reason to banish it from beleefe. We number it perad- uenture amongst the decrees of the schoole, but not amongst the articles*
of

μεταβολήν, μεταπο-
ίησιν, μεταστοιχείω-
σις.

προηγουμένος.

of faith. That which Durandus is reported to haue said, doth not dislike vs: we heare the word, we perceiue the sound, we know not the manner: we beleue the presence, we beleue, I say, the true presence as well as you: concerning the manner of the presence we doe not enadvisedly define. Nay more, we doe not scrupulouslie enquire: No more then we doe in Baptisme how the blood of Christ clenseth vs: no more then we doe in the incarnation of Christ how the diuine nature is vnited in one person with the humane. We reckon it amongst the mysteries (and indeed the Eucharist is a mysterie) the remainders whereof should be consumed with fire: That is, (as the fathers doe elegantly vnderstand it) which should be adored by faith, not debated by reason. This is the faith of the King, this is the faith of the Church of England. Who (that I may summarily comprise the whole matter) doe beleue that in the Supper of the Lord they are made really partakers of the bodie and blood of Christ, (as the Greeke Fathers speake, and as *Bellarmino* himselfe confesseth) spiritually. For by faith they apprehend, and eate Christ: and they beleue that there is no other kinde of eating profitable to salvation, which all your men also haue confessed.

To the second Instance concerning the Sacrifice in the Christian Church.

His Maiestie is not ignorant, neither doth he denie, that in place of the manifold sacrifices of the Mosaicall law, the ancient Fathers did acknowledge one sacrifice in the Christian religion. But this he auoucheth to be nothing else but the commemoration of that sacrifice which Christ did once offer to his Father vpon the crosse. Therefore S. *Chrysostome*, which maketh mention of this sacrifice as oft as any, vpon the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, after he hath called it a sacrifice, straightwaies adioyneth by way of explication, or correction, *or rather commemoration of that sacrifice.* That tearme, *or rather*, what force it hath you know very well. And often hath the Church of England protested, that they would not contend about the word, so they might obtaine of you to haue the ancient faith restored. And that these things which you practise contrarie to the custome of the ancient Church, might be abolished. For it is certaine that the celebration of the Eucharist without any communicants, and all that merchandise of priuate masses, condemned by many of your owne Diuines, tooke their originall from the peruerse doctrine concerning this sacrifice. And

μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν θυσίας.

And whereas for the deliuering of soules of the deceased from the flames of Purgatorie, the necessitie of many masses is vrged, his Maiestie doubteth not, but that this is a dotage of idle brains, and such as for their owne gaine doe wickedly abuse the simplicitie of the people. Remoue those, and the like grosse and foule abuses which raigne amongst you, and the Church of England, which in her Liturgie maketh expresse mention of a sacrifice, can be well content to rest in the custome of the ancient Church. Wherefore his excellent Maiestie being lately informed that not long agoe, at a famous assemblee of Dominican Friers, you disputed learnedly concerning a double sacrifice, of *Expiation* and of *Commemoration*, or *religion*, hath affirmed in the hearing of many, that he approued that distinction, and commandeth me now to signifie so much vnto you.

To the third Instance of prayer for the dead.

That it was a very ancient custome in the publike prayers of the Church to make commemoration of the deceased, and to desire of God rest for their soules, which died in the peace of the Church, few are ignorant, much lesse is it vnkowne vnto his Maiestie. Neither is there any doubt but that this custome sprung from a vehement affection of charitie. Likewise the ancient Church hereby gaue testimonie of the resurrection to come. This custome, although the Church of England condemneth not in the first ages, yet she thinketh not good to retaine it now for diuers and weightie causes, some whereof I will touch heere. First, because she is verily perswaded that without any precept of Christ, the supreme Lawgiver of his Church, this custome was introduced, neither could the contrarie hitherto bee demonstrated by any of your Doctors. Wherefore, although his Maiesty doth not take vpon him, as he hath protested in his Monitorie epistle, to condemne an ordinance which is approved by ye practice of the ancient Church, yet he is vndoubtedly perswaded that his Church is not bound by any necessitie to obserue it. For whatsoeuer the ancient Christian Fathers haue done on this part, all that his Maiestie referreth vnto the head of things profitable, or lawfull: of which wee haue spoken in the second *observation*: neither can it be proued that this custome is to be referred vnto those things which are of absolute necessitie. For whence should this necessitie spring? not from the law of God, for he never commanded it: and if it flow not
from

from that fountaine, it is no necessitie. For wee haue alreadie laid this ground, that nothing ought to be accounted necessarie to saluation, which is not either expressly contained in Gods word, or thence by necessarie consequence deducted. And wee haue declared, that such things as the ancient Church beleued, or practised without necessitie, the same ought now also to be left with libertie vnto vs. A second reason is, that although his Maiestie acknowledgeth the authors of this custome to haue been very ancient, yet no man hitherto could proue, that such was the vse in the beginning, and in the Apostolike times, which is the fountaine of all antiquitie in the Church. Besides that, the prayers then vsed doe much differ both in their end, and manner, from these which are now practised, and taught. A third reason is added by his Maiestie, that when once prayer for the dead tooke place amongst Church rites, not long after a rout of shamefull errorrs, and doting superstitions did band together, and breake into the Church. Now let indifferent arbitratours iudge to whom the name of Catholike should be denied: whether to the King, and his subiects, which by reason of errorrs ensuing haue left off, or thinke it not lawfull to vse a custome grounded vpon no necessitie: or to your men, which by sophisticall cauillations, and ncredible obstinacie had rather maintaine, then reforme all the errors of former ages, though neuer so grosse, and pernicious.

To the fourth Instance concerning the inuocation of Saints.

Concerning the inuocation of Saints, his Maiesties answer is the same with his former touching prayers for the dead. From a small beginning (as all men know) it grew to such greatnesse, that in former ages (and I wish it were not so now in many places) Christian people haue put more confidence, and hope of present aide in Saints, then (ô horrible impietie) in our Sauour himselfe: who being in the forme of God, that he might bring saluation vnto vs which were his enemies, did emptie himselfe by taking the forme of a seruant, and humbled himselfe being obedient vnto death, euen the death of the crosse. And when this blessed Sauour, according to his neuer enough admired goodnesse and clemencie, doth inuite miserable sinners with these sweete words of his Gospell, *Come vnto me all you that are weary and heauie laden, and I will refresh you*: yet some haue endeauored by the peruerseness of their wit

ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ.

Philip. 2. 7.

Matt. 11. 28.

wit to frustrate this gracious inuitation: and painting Christ, who is our onely Aduocate to God the Father, alwaies terrible, and vnmercifull, they would perswade poore soules that there is no way to Christ but through the mediation of many Saints. Moreouer, some others haue openly taught, that our Sauour Christ hath reserved the *seueritie of iustice* vnto himselfe, but *indulgence* and *mercie* he hath granted to the blessed Virgin. Againe, how haue they distributed offices, and powers of healing amongst the Saints with wonderfull curiositie, or rather detestable superstition? And heretofore their suffrages only were desired, that being gracious with God almightie they would make intercession for men: but afterwards, the world was filled with bookes concerning the proper seruice of this, or that Saint, and peculiar formes of prayer to be made vnto them. Wherefore in place of that diuine booke of the Psalter, which the ancient Christians neuer laid out of their hands; which was the solace of men and women, yong and old, rich and poore, learned and vnlearned, there haue succeeded the Houres of our Ladie, and Legends, or rather impious and doting fables (I speake not of the true histories of Martyrs) and such vile stuffe. And yet further, as if it were not iniurie enough to robbe Christians of so necessarie and diuine a booke, one of your men hath turned all the Psalmes to the honour of the blessed Virgin, attributing vnto her (as if there were no difference betwixt the creature and the Creator) whatsoever was prophecied concerning the onely Sonne of God. His excellent Maiestie doth extoll the happinesse of the most glorious virgin mother of our Lord, affirming that she is elevated vnto the highest degree of honour, which God the Creator could impart to any humane creature: he reioyceth also that the Church of England vpon set daies in the yeere doth solemnize the honoured memorie of that most blessed Virgin: but the Sophisters of these times can by no cunning euer perswade him to allow, or endure that Psalter of our Ladie. For as touching Cardinall *Belarmine*, which hath lately defended it, his Maiestie is perswaded that he is distasted of your owne, as many as but haue any small sense of pietie. Considering then that the Church of Rome is almost deadly sicke of such inward diseases, his Maiestie wondred (most illustrious Cardinall) when hee read in your epistle that the inuocation of Saints, as your men doe now practise it, is the same which was in vse in the primitiue Church. Wherefore his Maiestie answereth in few words: First, it cannot be proued that in the beginning

ginning of the primitiue Church, any other but the almightie God was inuoked: secondly, that there is no precept in the word of God for it, no one footstep of any example: God onely was adored, God onely was implored through the intercession of his onely begotten Sonne, the one and onely Mediatour betwixt God and man. Afterwards was brought in the vse of praying at the sepulchres of Martyrs: then began the making of apostrophees vnto Saints, besides the worship of God: then the making of vowes, and prayers, not primarily to pray to them, but that they should pray God. Yet if these new examples had gone no further, his Maiestie would not greatly haue reprooued the custome of those times, at the least not so much condemned it is as the abuses which hereupon ensued. For his Maiestie doth honor the blessed Martyrs, and other Saints which now raigne with Christ the head of both Churches, triumphant and militant: neither doubteth he of their continuall prayers for the necessities of the Church, beleeuing stedfastly the benefit thereof: but hee confesseth ingenuously that hee knoweth no reason whereby any man can promise or warrant vs that they heare our prayers, and that wee should account them as our household gods, and protectors. Wherefore hee exceedingly disliketh that which followed in after-ages. For by degrees it came to that which I haue shewed, which the Church of England affirmeth to be impious in the extreame. And if there bee examples extant in the Fathers of the fourth age for this inuocation (and no doubt there are, neither doth the King denie it) yet this is a testimonie of the decay of ancient simplicitie, and of an euill then growing; but in no respect comparable with that which in the Church of Rome at this day is openly practised, tolerated, and defended. Lastly, although the holy Fathers did allow the custom of that time amongst things profitable, or lawfull, yet they neuer accounted of it as a thing necessarie to saluation, which is the present argument of our speech. And thus much concerning the foure objections against the English Liturgie.

Now his Maiestie commendeth your iudgement, that amongst all the things which you dislike in his religion, you haue made choice especially of those which concerne matters of Church assemblies, and diuine seruice. For the communion of the faithfull consisteth much in the publike exercises of pietie: and this is the chiefe bond of vniou so much desired by good men. Wherefore if Christians could but agree about this, why might not all Europe communicate together?

gether? only, granting a libertie to schoole-Diuines with moderation to debate other opinions. Which were a thing much to be wished, and that foundation once laid, by the helpe of God, much hope might be conceiued of the rest. For this cause his excellent Maiestie greatly commending your iudgement herein, hath himselfe likewise heere deliuered, what things in your Liturgie he thinketh worthie to bee reprocued. But if, for the want of these foure things in the English Liturgie, you think there is iust cause, that they which vse it should neither be accounted, nor called Catholikes: then consider, I pray you, what his Maiestie may pronounce of the Church of Rome, in whose Liturgie (for hee passeth other points of your religion) godly men haue obserued so many things manifestly repugnant to the word of God, and the ancient Catholike faith. Which things neuerthelesse the Pope had rather maintaine, then reforme, when the truth now shineth so cleerely. And here although his Maiestie could easily rehearse many grieuous abuses in the Romane Liturgie; yet it pleaseth him to name only foure, which he opposeth to the other four named by you. The first is the vse of an vnknowne tongue, contrarie to the precept of *S. Paul*, and the practise of the primitiue Church, to whom in their assemblies nothing was dearer then the good, and edification of the hearers. Wherefore the Fathers provided the translation of Scripture into all languages: and, as *Epiphanius* noteth in the end of his third booke, they had *their Interpreters*, who, if need were, did translate one language into another, *in their readings*, as hee speaketh, that is, when the Scriptures were read vnto the people. Surely, that the things read were generally vnderstood, this alone is sufficient prooffe, that in most of the Homilies of the Greeke and Latin Fathers, wee meete with these words, *ut audistis legi*, or, *ut hodie lectum est*: as you heard it read, or as it was read to-day. Which if your preachers should say, were it not ridiculous? when the poore people vnderstand nothing that is read out of the Scriptures, notwithstanding they haue more need then the people of old time. For the ancient Doctors vrged euery one to reade the Bible diligently in their houses, which now vnder paine of excommunication they are forbidden to touch; vnlesse they obtaine a dispensation. So that the sacred word of God (I tremble to speake it) hath now the first place in the catalogue of bookes prohibited. His Maiestie knoweth that amongst you there may be found some Bibles translated into vulgar languages: but the English Priests at Doway, which

ἐρμηνευτὰς.

ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν

πρὸς τὸ μᾶλλον
καταπλήξασθαι
τοὺς τελουμένους.

which turned the Scripture into English, haue taught him thus much, that you were constrained against your willes to make those translations, *importunitate hæreticorum*, by the importunitie of the heretikes, as they of Doway speake. For it is heresie with these men to be desirous to reade the word of God with sobrietie, and reuerence. Neither is his Maiestic ignorant, when *Renatus Benedictus* Priest translated the Bible into French, how the Popes of Rome troubled him for that fact, and how by their letters they commanded the Bishop of Paris to endeauor that all the French translations might be extorted from the people. Which without faile they had effected, if there had been no Protestants in France. His Maiestic hath read of late also a booke of a certaine English Pontifician Priest, that prayers vttered in an vnknowne tongue haue a kinde of greater efficacie in them, then if they were vnderstood. which senselesse dotage was an old heathenish conceit, and is not the singular follie of this Priest alone. So the Valentinian heretikes did vse Hebrew names in their superstitious mysteries, that they might amaze the ignorant multitude: and, as *Eusebius* speaketh in the fourth part of his Historie, *the more to astonish those that were initiated in their superstitions*. The second abuse is, the diminishing of the holie Sacrament, contrarie to the institution of Christ, the example of *S. Paul*, and the practice of the Church, for the space of one thousand yeares at least, as *Cassander* a learned man confesseth. In the third place are priuate Masses, where are no communicants. I haue said before that those things had their beginning from the peruerse doctrine concerning the sacrifice in the Christian Church. Restore vs the ancient faith, and the ancient practise. In the fourth place his Maiestic obiecteth the present vse and adoration of Images. The Councell of Trent confesseth an abuse, and the Romane Catechisme giueth some profitable admonition on this behalfe. But what are we the better? the abuse remaineth, it is approued, maintained, and encreaseth daily. His Maiestic omitteth the adoration, and innocation of Saints: which as it is now practised, neither can, nor ought to be excused. He omitteth also the religious adoration of reliques, which at this day is taught and commanded as a thing necessarie, or at least very profitable to saluation. Beside the intollerable absurditie: as when false or ridiculous reliques are obtruded, as the teares of Christ, and the milke of our Ladie, and such like. Hee omitteth the licentious boldnes of your preachers, when they stray from the word of God:

God: who ought to bee restrained from propounding any doctrine to the people as necessarie to salvation, which is not drawne out of the diuine oracles, and agreeable to the ancient faith. For that is the wholesome doctrine which the Apostle so often commendeth. If there were such a restraint, many things now practised in the Church of Rome, would fall downe of their owne accord. As the doctrine of Indulgences: as that foppish deuice of the intensiue paines in Purgatorie: by vertue of which intension many thousand yeeres are contained in one minute: as those *battologie*, or idle repetition of heedlesse prayers, vnpleasing to our Sauour, as he himselfe witnesseth. Then it would no longer be accounted great merit to repeate the Rosarie, or other prayers, and Psalmes twentie, or fiftie, or an hundred times. If these and such like impediments were remoued, religious men should peradventure finde no iust cause to abstaine from your communion. There is another thing which his Maiestie thought good not to omit, which is written in the end of your Epistle: that you will be silent concerning the Pope of Rome, because it is manifest, to those which haue but meane skill in Ecclesiasticall historie, that the Fathers of the first ages, the Councils, and Christian Emperours in all businesse appertaining to religion and the Church, gaue him the preheminence, and acknowledged him the chiefe. That this is all for this point, which your Church requireth to be beleeued as an article of faith, by those whom you receiue into the communion. To this his Maiestie maketh answeere: and, appealing to your owne vnpartiall minde, he desireth you to consider the actions of Romane Bishops for almost seuen hundred yeeres past. He is loth to stirre the remembrance of things noisome, yet gladly would hee haue you know, that hee is most certaine of this: that the late Bishops of that sea are so vnlike vnto the ancient Popes in sinceritie of faith, in manner of life, and in the whole course and end of their gouernment, that it is altogether vniust, things being in this state, to draw arguments from the former ages, and applie them to this present time. Let the forme of the ancient Church be restored, and many new lawes heretofore not heard of be abolished. In briefe, let the Bishop of Rome declare euidently by his actions that he seeketh Gods glorie, not his owne; that he hath a care of the peace, and saluation of his people: then his Maiestie, as he hath protested before in his Monitorie Epistle, will acknowledge his primacie, and be willing to say with Gregorie Nazianzen, *that he hath the care of*
the

πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 προνοεῖν.

the whole Church. But at this time what the Church of God, especially Kings and Princes, ought to think concerning that sea, his Maiestie dare referre it to your owne iudgement to determine. For you know what a number of books come abroad daily from Rome, and almost all the corners of Europe, in defence of the Popes temporall power, or rather omnipotencie, his dominion, and monarchie ouer all the Kings, and people of the whole earth. You know that Cardinall *Bellarmino* hath of late written concerning that argument, and soone after the death of *Henry* the Great, hath been bold to publish that, which all honest men of your owne side doe detest. I say, all honest men: for the complices of that conspiracie doe heartily embrace, and to their power defend it as an oracle from the mouth of the Pope, which cannot erre. Wherefore the Iesuits of Ingolstade in a booke lately published against Master *Iohn Gordon*, the Deane of Salisburie, a man nobly borne, and very learned, doe cite testimonies out of this booke of the Cardinals, as if it were the constant opinion, and consent of all Catholikes. But I desire your Honour to consider whether the ancient Church euer did the like to this, and what will be the issue of this madnesse. Consider into what danger of vtter ruine they bring the Church of Christ, which doe approue, or suffer such things as are now practised, and taught. For, to conclude, as long as matters stand thus with you, and yet you denie that you haue been the cause of the diuision, it were meere doltishnes, and follie to imagine any reconciliation amongst the diuided members of the Church. The last point in your letters was this: that you are able to demonstrate cleerely what good consent there is betwixt the Church of Rome, and the seas of the other Patriarches in these points which are now in controuersie. But his Maiestie thinketh that you may spare that labour. For hee knoweth, and so doe others that are desirous to prie into such matters, that not the West Church alone, but the East also, the Churches in the South and North parts of the world haue degenerated farre from the golden sinceritie of former ages, and peradventure further then might seeme possible: but that the reuolting from the ancient faith must come to passe of necessitie, being foretold by the oracles of God. He knoweth also how those nations haue daily heaped ceremonies vpon ceremonies, and how for more then these thousand yeeres superstitious men haue been too presumptuous in that kinde. But when wee treat of reforming the Church of God, the question is not what the East Church, or the

or the Moscouites Church doe practise, or beleue: but this is the question, what the Apostles haue taught from the beginning, and what the Catholike Church hath practised in her times, and in the ages next following. That, that, is the paterne which the King doth ingenuously, and from his heart confesse that he would imitate without all exception. Neuerthelesse, such as are skillfull in Ecclesiasticall matters, they will not grant you this neither: that the doctrine of the Romane Church doth agree in all points with that which is taught in the Churches of other Patriarches. For to omit your worshipping of Images, your fire of Purgatorie, your precise obseruation of single life, and the infinite power of the Pope, euen aboue Councils: to say nothing of these, and other articles: yet it is manifest that in the celebration of the sacred Eucharist, the Grecians doe much differ from you Romanes. In so much that *Marcus* the Archbishop of Ephesus speaking of the Romane Masse, doth affirme that in matters of greatest moment it is contrarie to the word of God, and the ancient Liturgies. *It is manifestly repugnant (saith he) to the expositions and interpretations which wee haue receiued by tradition, and to the words of our Lord, and to the meaning of those words.* And of those which defend the Romane rites concerning this matter, the same *Marcus* pronounceth, *that they deserue to be pitied both in regard of their double ignorance, and their profound sottishnesse.* But thus much is enough for the present. Now you haue heard (most Illustrious Cardinall) the reasons wherefore his excellent Maiestie of great Britaine, after the reading of your letters, doth, neuerthelesse trusting in the mercie of God, beleue, and maintaine that he, and his Church are Catholike. Who if he were not inflamed with an infinit desire of furthering the publique peace, or if he supposed that you were otherwaies affected, he would haue spared the labour of this answer. Especially, because his Maiestie calling to minde the daily writings and practises of your men, is now (as I said before) stedfastly perswaded that through their dealings there remaine no meanes or hope of reconciliation. For they are resolu'd to defend all; and not to grow better, or by the serious reformation of things deprau'd to winne the mindes of the godly. In which resolution as long as they persist, and will not yeeld one iot to antiquitie, and truth, his Maiestie professeth once for all that he regardeth them not, neither will hee euer haue any communion with the Church of Rome. So his Maiestie humbly prayeth to our Lord Iesus Christ, that he
would

would vouchsafe to direct those excellent gifts of minde, which he
hath plentifully bestowed vpon you, to the honour of his
name, and the benefit of his Church. And I
humbly take my leaue of your Honour.

London 9. of Nouember.

MDCXL

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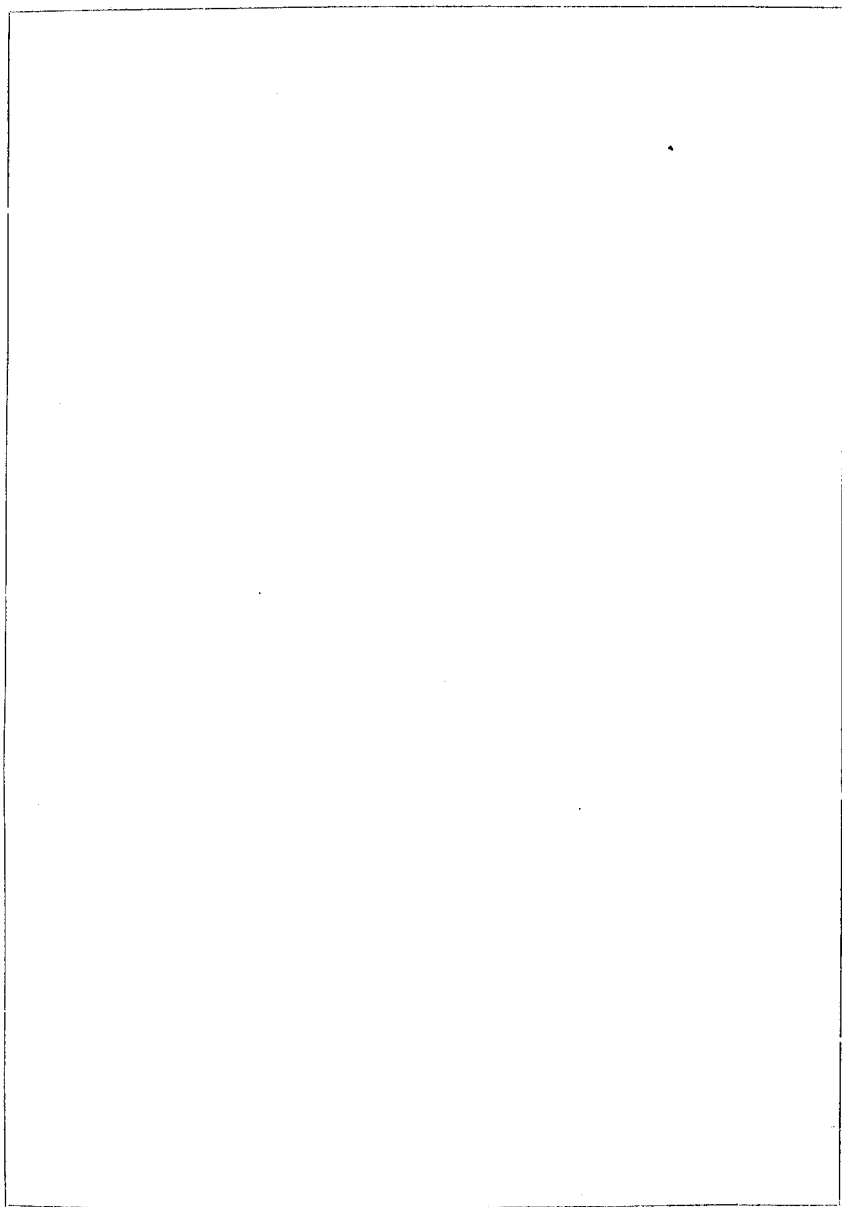
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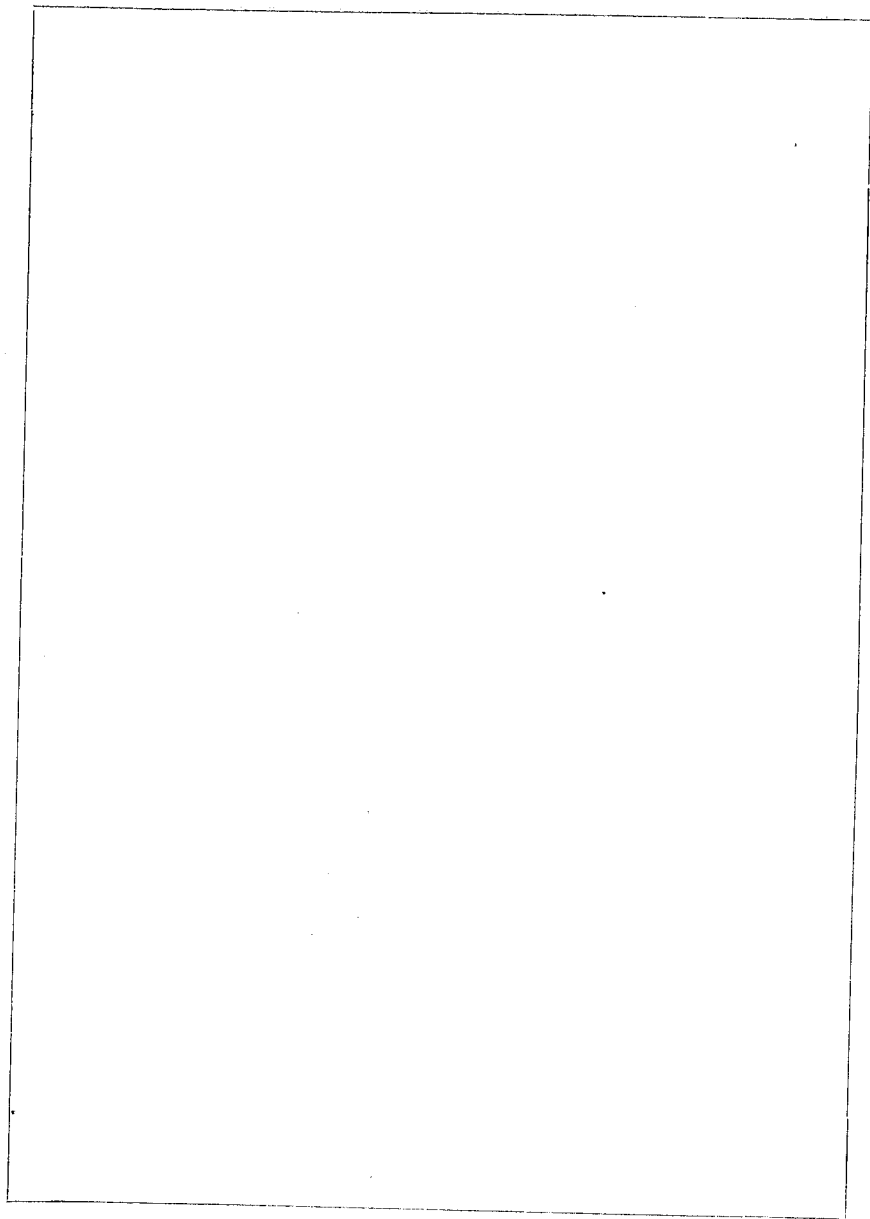
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